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EXCHANGE

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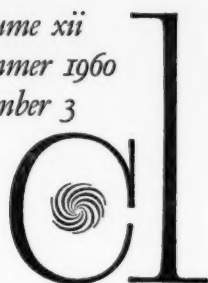
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GENE H. KORETZ

Augustine's *Confessions* And *The Education* Of Henry Adams

THAT HENRY ADAMS read Augustine and was familiar with the *Confessions* is indicated by frequent mention in his published letters. Between 1908 and 1915 Augustine's name appears eight times, five times in connection with the *Confessions* and the *Education*.¹ Most of the letters having references to Augustine were written in the key year of 1908, when Adams sent privately printed copies of the *Education* to his friends and acquaintances for the correction of any factual errors which might have escaped his attention and for suggestions for improvement. Such a request naturally resulted in queries from his friendly critics in regard to the intention of the book and the author's own sentiments concerning its virtues and shortcomings. The following letter written to Edith Morton Eustis in February 1908, after she had returned a copy of the *Education* which Adams had sent her, is especially revealing for the purposes of this paper:

Between artists or people trying to be artists the sole interest is that of form ... The arrangement, the construction, the composition, the art of climax, are our only serious study. Now that I have the stuff before me—in clay—I can see where the form fails; but I cannot see how to correct the failures. I believe the scheme impossible.

¹ *Henry Adams and His Friends: A Collection of Hitherto Unpublished Letters*, ed. Harold Dean Cater (Boston, 1947), p. 615; *The Letters of Henry Adams (1853-1918)*, ed. Worthington C. Ford (Boston and New York, 1930-38), II, 490, 526, 635; *The Selected Letters of Henry Adams*, ed. Newton Arvin (New York, 1951), p. 255.

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If you are curious to study the literary problem, send for the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, my literary model, and ask him why he failed too, as artist.²

This reference to Augustine's *Confessions* as the model for the book is the only explicit and definite statement in the letters or elsewhere concerning Adams' literary sources. Such writers as Rousseau, Franklin, and Cellini have been frequently mentioned as possible literary precedents, and no complete investigation of the problem of the *Education* can afford to ignore their possible influence; but it is clear that Adams regarded *The Confessions of St. Augustine* as the prototype of the kind of thing he had in mind in writing the *Education*. In the so-called "Editor's Preface" to the *Education*, which first appeared after Adams' death over the signature of Henry Cabot Lodge, Adams compared himself to St. Augustine and his book to the *Confessions*. Speaking of himself from behind the mask of a friend's name, he wrote:

...he used to say, half in jest, that his great ambition was to complete St. Augustine's "Confessions," but that St. Augustine, like a great artist, had worked from multiplicity to unity, while, he, like a small one, had to reverse the method and work back from unity to multiplicity.³

In 1915 in reply to a request that he allow the volume to be published Adams declared:

The book is ... not in a condition to appear as a work of mine. My idea of what it should be proved beyond my powers. Only St. Augustine ever realized it.⁴

To William James some seven years earlier Adams had expressed himself more fully concerning the relationship between the *Confessions* and the *Education*:

Did you ever read the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, or of Cardinal de Retz, or of Rousseau, or of Benvenuto Cellini, or even of my dear Gibbon? Of all of them,

² *Henry Adams and His Friends*, p. 615. Adams' estimation of Augustine's artistic success in the *Confessions* fluctuated considerably; see the letters quoted below. His statement here that he believed the *Education* to be a failure with respect to artistic form is apparently sincere, and there is no evidence that it is meant to be ironical or a defensive measure against astringent criticism. His friends universally acclaimed his book, most of them taking the liberty of retaining the copies he had sent them; yet he remained adamant in his refusal to allow it to be published during his lifetime. Adams' own admission of failure, however, is not a valid criterion, as some critics have supposed, for damning the book. It need hardly be stressed that it is the duty of the critic to judge a work of art solely on its own merits.

³ *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (Boston and New York, 1918), pp. vii-viii. All quotations are from this edition.

⁴ *The Letters of Henry Adams*, II, 635.

ST. AUGUSTINE AND HENRY ADAMS

I think St. Augustine alone had any idea of literary form,—a notion of writing a story with an end and object, not for the sake of the object, but the form, like a romance.⁵

What Adams admired most of all in Augustine was his consummate craftsmanship. He recognized in the *Confessions* a book which was at least quasi-literary in intention and which had been molded and pressed into significant form, so that to a large extent it transcended the limitations of its immediate purpose. The *Confessions* had been conceived under the stimulus of an emotion which, as Adams tells us in both the *Education* and *Mont-Saint-Michel*, had gradually deteriorated in strength as the forces of society became more diversified. It survived for the citizen of the modern multiverse only through its expression in the great churches and cathedrals of mediaeval France or in literary achievements such as Augustine's *Confessions*. In seeking to do for his own society what Augustine had done for fifth-century Rome—to forge a work of art which is drawn from the life and tenor of the times—Adams hoped to prove that at least one vital instinct of man, the capacity for aesthetic expression and appreciation, was still alive and capable of growth. He also hoped to provide, as Augustine had, some plan of action for his contemporaries beset by the perplexities and disturbances of their world. Perhaps the most revealing commentary on his literary problems and intentions in writing the *Education* is to be found in a letter written to Barrett Wendell, one of his old students at Harvard, in 1909:

When I read St. Augustine's *Confessions*, or Rousseau's, I feel certain that their faults as literary artists are worse than mine. We have all three undertaken to do what cannot be successfully done—mix narrative and didactic purpose and style... St. Augustine's narrative subsides at last into the dry sands of metaphysical theology. Rousseau's narrative fails wholly in didactic result; it subsides into still less artistic egoism... My experiment of trying to find the exact point of equilibrium where the two motives would be held in contact was bound to be a failure, but it was very amusing to carry out; and I still maintain that; if I could have had a dramatic setting like St. Augustine... I could have made it a success.⁶

The central problem which faced Adams in the *Education* was to combine successfully two seemingly irreconcilable modes of literary composition, to "mix narrative and didactic purpose and style," to write a philosophical treatise in the act of writing a personal spiritual biography. To find a guide for his projected "autobiography" Adams turned to the past examples of Rousseau and St. Augustine. Rousseau's

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 490.

⁶ *The Selected Letters of Henry Adams*, p. 255.

essay in the art of confessions proved to be ill-adapted to both his temperament and his purpose. The bold frankness and egoism of the French philosopher were inimical to the inhibiting traits of Adams' New England conscience. More important than this, "Rousseau's narrative fails wholly in didactic result." Properly speaking, Adams was not seeking to write an autobiography at all, if what is meant by that term is a detailed and factual account of a person's life, written by him in order to shed some light on his own peculiar experiences and personality. Rather he desired to treat only those aspects of his personal history from which lessons of universal applicability could be drawn. It was his intention to examine in retrospect the tangled threads of his existence and to extract whatever general meaning they might possess for his audience. Of all those who had attempted to perform such a task in the past, only Augustine seemed to have achieved some modicum of success, to have used his own life as a springboard toward some philosophical truth, without sacrificing either the narrative form or the didactic object.

Barring the discovery of notes he may have made while working on the *Education*, the exact nature of Adams' debt to the *Confessions* can never be definitely ascertained. In many ways it is difficult to think of two books so dissimilar. Augustine records the history of a passionate and violent nature, driven by impulses which it was powerless to control, and obsessed by an overwhelming sense of sin. The Henry Adams of the *Education* is a temperate and sober individual who exhibits little emotional or intellectual intensity, and who acts less than he is acted upon. Augustine finds his salvation in a complete affirmation of Godhead. Adams' solution is a guarded and limited one, thrown out by suggestion rather than explicitly stated. Yet, despite their obvious differences, the *Education* and the *Confessions* possess many characteristics in common, and a close inspection of both yields analogies which are more than fortuitous.

In the second book of the *Confessions* Augustine defines his reasons for writing:

To whom tell I this? not to Thee, my God; but before Thee to mine own kind, even to that small portion of mankind as may light upon these writings of mine. And to what purpose? that whosoever reads this, may think out of what depths we are to cry unto Thee. For what is nearer to Thine ears than a confessing heart, and a life of faith?⁷

The form of the *Confessions* is that of a public acknowledgment of sinfulness and profession of faith. The object is twofold: to please God

⁷ *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, tr. E. B. Pusey, Everyman's Library (London, 1907), p. 23. All quotations are from this edition.

by the spectacle of a penitent sinner, and to stimulate others to draw closer to God. Augustine was writing in an era of religious and political turmoil in which Christianity was engaged in a deadly struggle with pagan religions to win the allegiance of the people. By recounting his own tortuous search for truth, he hoped to influence others in the way of righteousness and salvation. Thus the *Confessions* is primarily a spiritual biography, concerned not so much with what Augustine did as with what he thought. Since during his lifetime he had wrestled with the same problems which were plaguing his contemporaries, such as the Christian-pagan controversy, he could legitimately include a refutation of heretical doctrines in the story of his life.

But while the *Confessions* does trace the progressive evolution of Augustine's thought, the author does not restrict himself to a mere narration of his experiences as they occurred. This would have risked excessive emphasis upon his personal drama at the expense of its moral implications. As a manifestation of earthly pride, the spectre of the ego was no less repugnant to Augustine than it was to Adams; he exorcised it by relating his own existence to its source in God. Although the thread which binds the *Confessions* together is that of chronological sequence, the real order is that of a meditation in which Augustine expounds theology. The descriptions or the experiences of the young and sinful Augustine are alternated with apostrophes to God in which Augustine the convert analyzes his life in terms of Christian doctrine. The effect is similar to that of the alternating roles of the actors and the chorus in Greek drama. There is a relieving of tension as the physical action releases a flow of comment which becomes the embodiment of the intrinsic meaning. The finite and transient is linked through the consciousness of the narrator to the eternal and infinite which is truth and God. By this device Augustine both foreshadows imaginatively the discussions of memory and the immaterial nature of the soul in the later books of the *Confessions* and keeps his main theme clearly in his readers' minds.

In the *Education* Adams employs a similar technique, with certain significant differences. Augustine had used his own life to exemplify the Christian conception of the relation of the individual to God. In the same way, Adams uses himself as a "model" or type, a point of reference from which to establish the relationship of the individual to the twentieth-century multiverse. He states this explicitly in the preface to the *Education*:

As educator, Jean Jacques was, in one respect, easily first; he erected a monument of warning against the Ego. Since his time, and largely thanks to him, the

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Ego has steadily tended to efface itself, and, for purposes of model, to become a manikin on which the toilet of education is to be draped in order to show the fit or misfit of the clothes. The object of study is the garment, not the figure... The manikin... has the same value as any other geometrical figure of three or more dimensions, which is used for the study of relation. For that purpose it cannot be spared; it is the only measure of motion, of proportion, of human condition.⁸

In his "Study of Twentieth-Century Multiplicity" Adams treats himself as a representative figure of his age whose adventures provide convenient opportunities for philosophical exposition. To guard against the intrusion of the ego, an emphasis which might qualify his theoretical assertions and convert the work into a mere memoir, he employs two stylistic devices. He tells his story in the third person and thus secures an effect of objectivity and detachment. And he cultivates an ironic tone which permits him to disparage the significance of the persona Henry Adams in the narrative.⁹ (We recall that Augustine solved the same problem by making God the hidden actor in his personal drama, to whose influence he attributed all of his actions which were just and admirable.) Gerrit H. Roelofs has gone so far as to suggest that the Henry Adams of the *Education* is primarily a literary device, a dramatically conceived character or "masque" whose resemblance to the writer is only a nominal one.¹⁰ Lending support to this interpretation is the evidence cited by Ernest Samuels that Adams consistently and deliberately distorts the facts concerning his personal history in the *Education*. Samuels shows, for instance, that Adams' deprecatory account of his Harvard education is a radical misrepresentation of the facts.¹¹

A closer parallel may be found in the principle governing the selection of narrative material in the two works. In each case the didactic intent determines the nature of the experiences related by the narrator, and situations or people who would receive detailed consideration in an authentic biography are either passed over lightly or entirely omitted. Thus we hear relatively little of Augustine's father in the *Confessions*,

⁸ *Education*, p. x.

⁹ For detailed consideration of Adams' style in the *Education* see the following: Joseph Warren Beach, "Henry Adams," in *The Outlook for American Prose* (New York, 1929), pp. 263-269; Yvor Winters, "Henry Adams, or the Creation of Confusion," in *The Anatomy of Nonsense* (Norfolk, Conn., 1943), pp. 23-87; Robert A. Hume, "The Style and Literary Background of Henry Adams," *American Literature*, XVI (1945), 296-315.

¹⁰ Gerrit H. Roelofs, "Henry Adams: Pessimism and the Intelligent Use of Doom," *ELH*, XVII (1950), 214-239.

¹¹ Ernest Samuels, *The Young Henry Adams* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), pp. 8-52.

while his mother has become one of the most memorable figures in all literature. Augustine's reason for taking up his pen was propagation of the faith, and he sought to accomplish this by recounting the story of his own conversion from paganism to Christianity. His father played a negative role in this drama; his mother was a motivating force behind his conversion. Consequently she is treated at length.

Critics have commented upon the brevity of Augustine's description of his parting with his mistress. When he became engaged to marry a young girl, it was held necessary that he should break from his mistress. "My concubine," he writes, "being torn from my side as a hindrance to my marriage, my heart which clave unto her was torn and wounded and bleeding. And she returned to Africa [Augustine was at this time in Milan], vowing unto Thee never to know any other man, leaving with me my son by her."¹² These are the only lines in the *Confessions* in which Augustine speaks of his mistress as anything but the object of his carnal desires. They are followed by an account of how he immediately secured another mistress to take her place. The fact that Augustine could have so callously dismissed a relationship with a woman whom he had lived for many years and who had borne him a son is shocking, but even more offensive is the casual way in which Augustine alludes to the episode. Does not this woman, who loved him faithfully and whom he also professes to have loved, deserve more than the slight attention she receives in the *Confessions*? The answer is that Augustine felt that a more thorough description of this relationship would disrupt the total unity of the work. His subject was the relation of the individual to God, and shifting his focus to a romantic situation would weaken the religious emphasis.

In the *Education* too, we find a significant paucity of comment about certain matters which we would expect to receive fuller coverage in a life story. For example between Chapters XX and XXI there is an abrupt leap of twenty years in the chronology, which has been held by many critics to be a major structural flaw in the book. We know that the period which Adams omitted spans the course of his ill-fated marriage; no doubt his primary reason for the omission was that it was too intimate a chapter of his life to exhibit before the public. However, it would be a mistake to ascribe the omission entirely to personal reticence. Adams' thesis in the *Education* is largely a historical one concerned with the growing complexity of modern life, particularly in the spheres of politics, economics, and science. Clearly, a love story would be as out of place within this context as it would be in the *Confessions*. It is

¹² *Confessions*, p. 116.

true that what Adams' critics have labeled the "feminine principle," the generative and emotive force he attributed to women, plays a part, though a relatively insignificant one, in the thematic structure of the book; the concept is, however, much more crucially related to the design of *Chartres* than to the design of the *Education*.

Another technique which Adams appears to have borrowed from Augustine is the habit of converting a particular incident or situation into symbol, of loading what oftens seems to be an entirely innocuous or trivial occurrence with as much discursive meaning as it can possibly bear. Augustine's symbolizing technique is obviously related to the tradition of allegorical Biblical interpretation established by the early Church Fathers. The most striking example in the *Confessions* is the account in Book II of a boyish prank in which Augustine and some companions despoiled a neighbor's pear tree, although they were neither hungry nor desired the fruit for any other purpose. The narrator analyzes this act from all possible angles. It takes on a potent symbolic significance, since Augustine regards it as containing a key to one of the most perplexing problems in the *Confessions*, the source of evil. Another example of his symbolizing technique is Augustine's description of a chance encounter with a joyous beggar on the streets of Milan who had been drinking heavily. This incident gives rise to an exhaustive discussion of the nature of true happiness, and the figure of the drunken beggar emerges as a kind of symbol of the ephemeral and superficial nature of all joy without God.

Similar symbolic episodes occur in the *Education*, and it is apparent that Adams was aware of the potentialities of this technique to a far greater extent than Augustine. Symbolization so thoroughly pervades the *Education* that one critic has suggested that Adams was endeavoring to perfect a "new sort of epic or symbolic form."¹³ The central symbol of the book is, of course, the dynamo which Adams saw at the Paris Exposition of 1900, and which he began to feel "as a moral force, much as the early Christians felt the Cross."¹⁴ As a modern scientific image representing ultimate energy and infinite force, it balances the religious symbol of the Virgin in *Chartres*. But the dynamo is only one thread, albeit the most important, in a vast network of symbolic elements in the *Education*.

¹³ Robert E. Spiller, "Henry Adams," in *Literary History of the United States*, II (New York, 1948), 1103. In his recent book, *The Mind and Art of Henry Adams* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), J. C. Levenson suggests that Adams carried this technique too far in the *Education*: "He made the mistake of thinking that almost anything which happened to him must have symbolic value" (p. 257).

¹⁴ *The Education*, p. 380.

In the first chapter, for example, mention is made of two family residences of the Adamses, Quincy and Boston. It is soon made clear that they are cited, not to enlighten the reader concerning the living habits of the Adams clan, but to contrast two different and conflicting ways of life. Quincy is eighteenth century; it stands for a simple world with simple virtues, for the Newtonian universe of balance, harmony, and order, for a republican theory of government which stresses moral principles in politics, for a life based upon "abstract ideals" and "ancestral prejudices." Opposed to it is Boston, which represents the social and philosophical currents of the coming age in which unity and order have been destroyed. It is an age of scientific advancement and rapidly accelerating industrialism, of power politics and bankers, an age in which practical considerations and the desire for personal gain provide the only acceptable motives for action. In their symbolic functions Quincy and Boston prefigure one of the basic themes of the *Education*, the transition from the unified world of eighteenth-century rationalism to the multiverse of twentieth-century science.

There are many other instances in which narrative elements are made to do double duty as symbols. Towards the middle of the *Education* Adams describes his investigation of the theories of Darwin and his discovery of certain data which seemed to contradict Darwin's conclusions. The information that the first known fossil vertebrate was a fish named *Pteraspis* is particularly disturbing to him, and he regards this fact as a valid refutation of Darwinism. *Pteraspis* becomes a symbol of the deficiencies of human knowledge and reappears throughout the rest of the book as a metaphorical leitmotif. A possible analogue for the beggar episode in the *Confessions* is Adams' account of his meeting with Garibaldi at Palermo, which taught him the lesson of "the extreme complexity of extreme simplicity."¹⁵ One could go on indefinitely illustrating Adams' symbolic technique, but one more example will suffice. One of the most dramatic and moving moments in the *Education* is Adams' description in Chapter XIX of his reaction to the death of his sister from an infection she had received as the result of a cab accident. Jolted out of his sense of security and purpose in life, the world became for Adams a chaos of anarchic and purposeless forces:

Impressions like these are not reasoned or catalogued in the mind; they are felt as a part of violent emotion; and the mind that feels them is a different one from that which reasons; it is thought of a different power and a different person. The first serious consciousness of Nature's gesture—her attitude towards life—took

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

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form then as a phantasm, a nightmare, an insanity of force. For the first time, the stage-scenery of the senses collapsed; the human mind finds itself stripped naked, vibrating in a void of shapeless energies, with resistless mass, colliding, crushing, wasting, and destroying what these same energies had created and labored from eternity to perfect. Society became fantastic, a vision of pantomime with a mechanical motion; and its so-called thought merged in the mere sense of life, and pleasure in the sense. The usual anodyne of social medicine became evident artifice. Stoicism was perhaps the best; religion was the most human; but the idea that any personal deity could find pleasure or profit in torturing a poor woman, by accident, with a fiendish cruelty known to man only in perverted and insane temperaments, could not be held for a moment. For pure blasphemy, it made pure atheism a comfort. God might be, as the Church said, a Substance, but He could not be a Person.¹⁶

A similar incident is the object of Augustine's attention in Book IV of the *Confessions*. In relating the life of his youth, he describes his grief at the death of a childhood friend:

At this grief my heart was utterly darkened; and whatever I beheld was death. My native country was a torment to me, and my father's house a strange unhappiness; and whatever I had shared with him, wanting him, became a distracting torture. Mine eyes sought him every where, but he was not granted them; and I hated all places, for that they had not him; nor could they now tell me, "he is coming," as when he was alive and absent . . . Wretched I was; and wretched is every soul bound by the friendship of perishable things; he is torn asunder when he loses them, and then he feels the wretchedness, which he had, ere yet he lost them.¹⁷

Both passages are crucial to the dramatic and discursive development of the works in which they appear. In each case the death of someone close to the narrator acquires an aura of symbolic meaning which adumbrates the philosophical or didactic intention of the work. To Augustine, for whom unity transcended earthly experience, it illustrated the folly of directing one's love towards a lesser object than God. For Adams, for whom unity must arise from the essential nature of experience itself, its moral was that "Chaos was the law of nature; Order was the dream of man."¹⁸

The most obvious resemblance which the *Education* bears to the *Confessions* lies in the general structural organization of the two books; and, if direct influence may anywhere be safely predicated, it is here. In each book a narrative exposition of the author's life is developed through the work and lends to it a formal coherence of chronological order. And in each there is an introduction of abstract and theoretical material at the end, almost in the position of an appendix. Although

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 288-289.

¹⁷ *Confessions*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁸ *The Education*, p. 451.

Adams wrote in one letter that the *Confessions* was flawed because the "narrative subsides . . . into the dry sands of theology," elsewhere he expressed the opinion that Augustine had succeeded magnificently in creating a balanced work of art.¹⁹ It appears extremely probable that Adams relied upon the example of Augustine in shifting the final emphasis of the *Education* from a personal and dramatic mode to a discursive one.

Because of its theoretical nature, many readers have misunderstood the function of the final section of the *Confessions* (concerned with Biblical exegesis and a disquisition upon the nature of time) and have failed to perceive its relation to the body of the work.²⁰ Actually it balances and fulfills the dramatic climax of the book in which Augustine recounts the circumstances of his conversion. The *Confessions* is the record of a soul searching for ultimate truth. According to Augustine's epistemology, this truth resides in God and it can only be grasped through his infinite mercy. Although indispensable within the Christian scheme, reason alone is not sufficient to arrive at knowledge of God and His works; reason must be preceded or supplemented by a will to believe which is the gift of God's grace. The attainment of grace is illustrated by the mysterious incident in the garden at Milan in which Augustine is suddenly granted the sustaining power of faith. Once he has experienced divine illumination (to give it its traditional name), he is able to comprehend the mystery of God and the complex relations of the creation, and it is this culminating act which the last three books of the *Confessions* carry out. Long regarded as a mere superfluous appendix, they are in fact an integral part of the whole and a fitting consummation of the quest which lies at the center of the narration. Étienne Gilson has rightfully declared that these books are "the most splendid part of the *Confessions*."²¹

Similar objections have been leveled at the final chapters of the *Education*, in which the "Dynamic Theory of History" and the "Law of

¹⁹ See the letters quoted above.

²⁰ A convenient summary of the traditional controversy concerning the unity of the *Confessions* is given by P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustin* (Paris, 1950), pp. 21 ff. For an earlier statement of the theory advanced above, see my note, "Augustine's *Confessions*," *The Explicator*, XII (1954), item 37. Recently I have become aware of John J. O'Meara's *The Young Augustine* (London, 1954). Professor O'Meara makes a distinction similar to my own: "If there is unity in the *Confessions* it lies . . . in the contrast between the search for Truth under the guidance of Providence in the first part of the work, and the enjoyment of Truth in the Scriptures in the second part" (pp. 17-18).

²¹ Étienne Gilson, *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy* (New York, 1936), p. 143.

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Acceleration" are expounded. Nathalia Wright, writing in the *New England Quarterly*, argues that these chapters are included in the *Education* because Adams' puritan caste of mind would not sanction an expenditure of time writing a mere autobiography.²² He must turn his energies to some moral and intellectual purpose such as the formulation of a theory of history. As an insight into Adams' character, Miss Wright's remarks may possess some validity, but they are not valid as a criticism of the *Education*. Miss Wright implies a clear disjunction in the book between a portion which is essentially personal and biographical and a theoretical addendum which the writer's conscience forced him to tack on before allowing the book to go to press. The evidence indicates that the book was neither meant to be, nor can be considered, a sincere and truthful statement of the author's life. Furthermore, the early part of the *Education* clearly foreshadows the contents of the final chapters, as any study of the imagery (Adams' frequent recourse to metaphors of force and energy) and symbolism will show.²³ The discursive or didactic elements are not in conflict with or disjointed from the narrative, but, as is the case with the *Confessions*, actually grow from and complete the dramatic action. The device of the persona Henry Adams is retained to the very last line. The historical theories are tentative and suggestive rather than conclusive and final. Clearly the notion that the structure of the *Education* is seriously impaired by the sudden and unprepared-for introduction of a scientific treatise is not borne out by the facts.

To understand the function of the "Dynamic Theory of History" in the *Education*, it is necessary to recall that there are in a sense two subjects in the book. As a whole it may be conceived as a panoramic study of the nineteenth century, a survey of historical trends with the purpose of discovering the basic laws of history and determining the direction of human activities in the future. The objective historical argument of the *Education* may be briefly summarized as follows: In the nineteenth century there occurred what amounted to a revolution in the nature of society and man's place within society. The Newtonian universe of the eighteenth century, in which the individual had a significant and vital role, was suddenly replaced by a world of exploding forces and shifting values, a world which for sheer complexity and accelerating energy far surpassed the wildest premonitions of any previ-

²² Nathalia Wright, "Henry Adams' Theory of History: A Puritan Defense," *NEQ*, XVIII (1945), 204-210.

²³ See Elizabeth Stevenson, *Henry Adams: A Biography* (New York, 1955), p. 348.

ous age. Materialistic and scientific advances made themselves felt in every sphere of human activity. Traditional systems of ethics, politics, science, and philosophy were suddenly relegated to the realm of fairy tales, and man found himself a limited and insignificant creature, an ironic victim of brute forces which he had helped to unleash but was powerless to control. The ultimate effect of this new chaotic super-sensual multiverse upon the future of the human race was uncertain. One thing was obvious—the old implements of thought were inadequate to cope with the new forces. A new start would have to be made, and the outmoded forms of education would have to be discarded. Unless man could come to terms with his world and could learn to regulate to some extent its diverse energies, disaster and self-destruction would be the probable result.

Dramatizing and representing concretely this historical framework is the second subject of the book, the personal drama of the protagonist Henry Adams, whose problem is to adjust to his complex environment, to find his own place in the world of multiplicity. He solves it by formulating the "Dynamic Theory of History," for it is only by attempting to synthesize one's experience of the world into some sort of unified system that one can hope to act with purpose and economy. At the same time, the "Dynamic Theory" functions as the solution to the historical problem of the *Education*; it attempts to define the laws of history which are responsible for the phenomenon of multiplicity in the twentieth century. Just as Adams' account of his growing awareness of the dynamo at the Paris Exposition of 1900 as the symbol of a world dominated by naked force parallels the dramatic rendering of Augustine's conversation in the garden at Milan, so the formulation of the "Dynamic Theory of History" in the *Education* is the equivalent of the final philosophical epiphany in the *Confessions*.

It has been demonstrated that Adams' debt to Augustine is of a general rather than a specific nature. Adams saw in the *Confessions* a model for the kind of thing he had in mind in the *Education*, a work which balanced and harmonized aesthetic and didactic motives. In making the main action of his book a quest for knowledge and truth, in adhering to a strict principle of selectivity, in employing symbolic episodes to augment his theme, and in concluding his book with a theoretical exposition, he relied upon the example of Augustine. But he was no slavish imitator, and the form which he finally achieved drew its distinctive qualities out of the material which it embodied. In the *Education* Adams writes of his method of composition:

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The pen works for itself, and acts like a hand, modelling the plastic material over and over again to the form that suits it best. The form is never arbitrary, but is a sort of growth like crystallization, as any artist knows too well.²⁴

It is a tribute to Adams' originality that his debt to St. Augustine cannot be more specifically determined.

Indiana University

²⁴ *The Education*, p. 389.

GIOVANNI GULLACE

The French Writings Of Gabriele d'Annunzio

THE FRENCH writings of Gabriele d'Annunzio are of peripheral importance in his literary career. They reveal no new aspect of his artistic talent and add nothing to his reputation. Critics, in fact, have seldom given much heed to the poet's French literary production. His three French plays—*Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*, *La Pisanelle*, *Le Chèvrefeuille*—were widely discussed at the time of their first theatrical presentations and either highly praised or mercilessly condemned; then, except for occasional references in general studies of the author, they were completely forgotten.

From the artistic point of view they perhaps deserved no more. But, if they do not offer much in artistic interest per se, they are important in the study of D'Annunzio's relations with French culture. The poet considered France his "seconda patria," and his French works, inspired by a strong affection for his adopted land, show the extent to which he assimilated its language and culture. The present study of these pieces is primarily an essay in cultural relations.

At the time of his literary debut in France in 1892, D'Annunzio's knowledge of French was rather limited. But his intense interest in the perfect translation of his works, attested by his meticulous corrections on the pages of his French translator Georges Hérèlle, forced him into a serious and extensive study of the language. However, in the summer of 1894, when author and translator met personally for the first time in Venice,¹ Hérèlle noticed that D'Annunzio's French was still poor. Nonetheless, the success of his first novels in France inspired him with a desire to write in French in order to show his admirers across the

¹ Their literary collaboration had begun in 1892 with the translation of *L'innocente*, published in France with the title, *L'Intrus*.

Alps the love he felt for their country and their language. His first attempts were made in 1894, when, as a linguistic exercise, he translated some of his own poems. "Jes les ai traduites," he wrote to Hérèlle, "pour me divertir et m'exercer . . . Vous n'aurez autre chose à faire que de corriger mes erreurs et de trouver, ça et là, quelques mots plus appropriés."² Hérèlle stated that he never received these translations. At the poet's death three of them were found in Paris in the collection of Gentili di Giuseppe, and were published in the May-June 1939 issue of *Dante* as "Ébauches inédites de poèmes."³

In 1896 D'Annunzio began to aspire to poetic laurels in his second language. Convinced that translations would never show Frenchmen the real dimensions of his poetic talent, he composed directly in French a series of twelve *Sonnets cisalpins* in a classical tone after the manner of Ronsard, with the humble dedication, "Le page craintif aux poètes de France."⁴ Eager to surprise Hérèlle, he turned the manuscript over to Count Primoli, requesting him to submit it to Louis Ganderax, editor of the *Revue de Paris*, for immediate publication. Hérèlle would indeed have been astonished to see these extraordinary poems in print, the

² D'Annunzio, *Correspondance à Hérèlle*, trans. Guy Tosi (Paris, 1946), p. 173. The original letters in Italian, preserved in the Bibliothèque de Troyes, are still unpublished.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175, note. The three poems are "Psyché endormie" (*Poema paradisiaco*), "Ballades des femmes sur le fleuve," and "Petite ballade de l'absence" (*Isottèd*). The first stanza of the "Ballade delle donne sul fiume" seems to have been drawn from some lines of Flaubert's *La Tentation de Saint Antoine*: "Les marchands d'Alexandrie naviguent les jours de fête sur la rivière de Canope, et boivent du vin dans des calices de lotus" (p. 7, Conard ed.). Here is D'Annunzio's stanza:

"I nitidi mercanti alessandrini,
profumati di cinnamo e d'issopo,
bevean sulla riviera di Canopo
ne' calici de 'l loto i rosei vini."

⁴ Even before the composition of the *Sonnets cisalpins*, D'Annunzio planned to write *La città morta* directly in French. In Oct. 1896, in fact, announcing to Hérèlle the completion of the first two acts of the tragedy, he wrote: "J'aurais voulu essayer d'écrire le drame directement en français et soumettre ensuite ma prose à votre révision. Très souvent, en écrivant en italien, la phrase française me vient sous la plume et me semble plus efficace et—comment dire?—plus parlée . . . Votre langue est plus fluide, plus légère, moins compassée" (*Correspondance à Hérèlle*, p. 296). D'Annunzio wanted to avoid the expression "translated from the Italian," which, in his opinion, seemed to put a barrier between the spectator and the play, and he made arrangements with Hérèlle to have the tragedy presented and published without the name of the translator, so that the public might feel that it was the original text and not a translation. *La Ville morte* was printed by Calmann-Lévy in Jan. 1898 and produced the same month at the Théâtre de la Renaissance in accordance with the arrangement. Critics erroneously thought the play had been written originally in French. See Guillaume Apollinaire's *Théâtre italien* (Paris, 1910), p. 200; Léon Blum's *Au Théâtre* (Paris, 1906), I, 168; Angelo Sodini's *Ariel armato* (Milan, 1931), p. 289. The facts emerge clearly in the *Correspondance à Hérèlle*, pp. 296-299.

more so since D'Annunzio had never mentioned any such project. But the plan failed. Ganderax, finding the tone and the form of the sonnets not completely suited to his pedantic taste, held the author off with the excuse that the *Revue* was unable to publish the *Sonnets cisalpins* for the time being because of previous commitments. D'Annunzio impatiently recalled his manuscript, and later sent it directly to Hérèlle, asking him to make any necessary corrections and to have it published, as a literary curiosity, in some other periodical.⁵ He wished to see his sonnets in print, because, he said: "J'ai promis à une de mes amies—qui voulait de moi des vers français—ces étrennes."⁶ He was afraid, however, to expose himself to criticism by writing in a language of which he did not yet have complete mastery. After Ganderax's polite rejection he proceeded more cautiously. He urged Hérèlle to show the sonnets secretly to Brunetière and, after learning his opinion, to have them printed, pretending to have received them "sans aucune mission," so that "plutôt qu'offerts, ils vous soient demandés."⁷

Hérèlle's answer is not known, but can easily be inferred from the tone of a later letter of D'Annunzio's: "Vous avez donc cru sérieusement que je voulais me 'naturaliser' poète français et, de plus, parnassien? Je plaisantais. J'ai composé ces sonnets par passe-temps... Je crois que je n'en écrirai pas d'autres."⁸ Nevertheless, D'Annunzio insisted once more, although more mildly, on the publication of the sonnets, suggesting to Hérèlle that they be printed as "étrennes de moi à vous... afin que le page du premier sonnet paraisse aussi craintif que possible."⁹ Despite his insistence, only two of the sonnets appeared, one in *Le Figaro* of January 3, 1897, and the other in *Le Gaulois* of May 27.¹⁰ Perhaps because of Hérèlle's excessive scrupulousness, the others remained unpublished until 1940, when the entire original manuscript was discovered and published by Guy Tosi in a special issue of *Études Italiennes* (1939-40) devoted to D'Annunzio.

⁵ "Certainement, ces sonnets—en fin d'année—sont une curiosité littéraire. *Le Figaro*—qui est en quête de curiosité—ne pourrait-il les publier" (*Correspondance*, p. 304).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 305. The friend who had requested the French verse from D'Annunzio was probably Sarah Bernhardt, to whom Sonnet IX, "Melpomène à Sarah Bernhardt," was originally dedicated. She had already accepted the principal role in *La Ville morte*, to be presented at the Théâtre de la Renaissance, of which she was the director.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 316 (letter of Jan. 2, 1897).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

¹⁰ Sonnet VIII, "Aestus erat," in *Le Figaro*; Sonnet V, "Les Donatrices," in *Le Gaulois*. "Aestus erat" must have been considered more characteristic of D'Annunzio's aestheticism because of the ardent sensualism with which it is permeated. This perhaps is the reason for its choice for publication. In France

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D'Annunzio was not yet completely at ease with French. The *Sonnets cisalpins* lack the suppleness and rhythm of his Italian poems. One feels here and there a certain strain and affectation in the expression, due to insufficient mastery of the language. Some of them, however, are remarkably suggestive. "Le Page craintif," introducing the collection, possesses a singular grace:

Sonnet, page de l'art que mon maître Pétrarque
m'enseigna dans l'odeur des lauriers florentins
où je rêvai longtemps de merveilleux destins
épiaut le fil d'or aux doigts blancs de la Parque,

je veux que tout ton corps léger se courbe et s'arque
comme une lèvres belle aux rires argentins
pour offrir avec grâce à mes frères latins
cet hommage en le règne où Ronsard est monarque.

The next three—"L'Hôte du roi," "Le Fils de Valentine," "Séjour d'honneur"—are devoted to the "anciennes relations entre la douce terre de France et le pays où le *si* résonne: Léonard hôte de François I^{er}, Charles d'Orléans et la Cour de Blois, Octavien de Saint-Gelais et la Cour d'Amboise où fleurit la jeunesse de François I^{er},"¹¹ and reveal the poet's familiarity with the works of Charles d'Orléans (he quotes some well-known lines) and an unusual erudition which he attempts to enliven with verbal magic and occasional sensual images. The other

D'Annunzio was the author of the trilogy of the "romans de la rose," *L'Enfant de volupté*, *L'Intrus*, *Le Triomphe de la mort*, the only works which found great success with the French public. Here is the sonnet:

"Les paupières couvraient lourdes ses yeux ardents
toutes rouges encor des voluptés fiévreuses;
et je croyais sentir battre en ses tempes creuses
la secrète fureur des rêves obsédantes.

Je lui cueillis alors un des fruits mûrs pendants
sur nos fronts, par pitié des lèvres douloureuses.
Du bout de ses doigts blancs comme des tubéreuses
elle écrasa le fruit de pourpre sur ses dents.

Du bout de ses longs doigts doux comme des pétales
(quel poison dans sa pulpe avait le fruit vermeil?)
elle effleura ses cils alourdis de sommeil.

Et son âme rêvait les voluptés fatales.
'Donne, ô Mort, à sa chair le repos sans réveil.'
Et tout mon cœur puissant bondit vers le soleil."

The last two lines seem to echo Jean Lorrain's sonnet "La Coupe" (*La Forêt bleue*):

"Bois l'engourdissement et la mort sans réveil,
Bois la volupté lente et l'oubli du soleil . . ."

¹¹ *Correspondance à Hérèle*, p. 305.

compositions are on a variety of themes. They often echo motifs dear to the poet, now spurred by a new daemon—the idea of the superman. The desire to rise above himself, to conquer himself and others, to ascend to the heights of pure art, is a theme recurring in nearly all these poems. Their form is characterized by that labored stylistic refinement characteristic of D'Annunzio—the choice of rare and musical words, the preference for archaisms, the use of sensual expressions. At times his French phrases seem to be a translation from his native tongue:

Assises dans le sang du soleil moribond,
près des noirs cygnes nés de l'ombre des carènes,
plus d'une fois j'ai vu les divines Sirènes
et j'ai miré mon rêve en leur regard profond.

The "soleil moribond" (sole moribondo), the "regard profond" (sguardo profondo), and the "j'ai miré" (mirai) are images and expressions whose transposition from Italian is clearly noticeable. Some of the sonnets have a marked Parnassian plasticity; images and words seem to be chiseled in marble:

Le golfe était courbé comme une anse d'amphore.
Le heurt du rostre dur, le heurt de mon pied franc
firent lever des vols. Dans le ciel de safran,
au sommet d'un rocher, je vis briller Phosphore.

Le rocher haut et seul, comme un lampadophore,
semblait porter l'étoile à son poing de titan.
Outre-mer, outre-monts le message éclatant
répandait la divine ivresse de l'Aurore.

D'Annunzio called Hérèlle's attention especially to Sonnet X, "La Grenade," for a certain musical quality which, he said, "aurait beaucoup plu à Gustave Flaubert."¹² He also attempted to give his sonnets "une saveur latine" by using uncommon constructions which Ronsard and the other Renaissance poets would undoubtedly have approved. "Lisez ces sonnets," he remarked to Hérèlle, "et n'oubliez pas en les lisant, qu'ils sont *cisalpins*, c'est-à-dire un peu italianisants en quelques *tournures*."¹³ Following, perhaps, Ronsard's example, D'Annunzio even coined new words derived directly from Latin or Greek, as "léthales" for "fatales" (Sonnet VIII, line 12), "rapide" for "rapide" (Sonnet XII, line 13), "pharète" for "carquois" (Sonnet IX, line 10). As was to be expected, Hérèlle replaced the words "léthal" and "rapide," which do not exist in French, with "fatal" and "rapide"; "pharète," however, was retained.

On the whole, the *Sonnets cisalpini*, although they offer no departure

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 305.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

from the author's customary images, vocabulary, rhythm, and atmosphere, are far more than a mere exercise of a "page crainitif" in French. They reveal a rare ability to handle Ronsard's poetic language.

D'Annunzio's French work which created the greatest stir was *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*, a mystery play in five acts, composed between 1910 and 1911 in the solitude of Arcachon. If the *Sonnets cisalpins* was a timid effort in the poetic use of French, *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* stands out as an ambitious and almost rash enterprise. A mediaeval mystery play in 1910 was, indeed, an unusual literary event, and only D'Annunzio's temerity could have conceived such a project. When asked his reason for writing a mystery play in French verse, he said that "un esprit, pour toucher au fin fond d'une race, doit descendre au plus mystérieux de ses sanctuaires, celui de la langue."¹⁴ And, eager to produce a work which would give him the right of citizenship in the "douce France des poètes," D'Annunzio had embarked upon this difficult task in emulation of Brunetto Latini.

The idea of a work on the martyrdom of St. Sebastian had been growing in his mind for a long time.¹⁵ In fact a "Martirio di San Sebastiano" was included in a list of literary projects which he had handed over to the Milanese publisher Treves two years earlier. The poet's interest in the legend of the saint was not, to be sure, of a religious nature; instead, he viewed the beautiful figure of the bleeding youth pierced by arrows as a Christian transfiguration of the myth of Adonis. But perhaps he never would have written his French play if he had not found an unexpected inspiration in Ida Rubinstein, who at that time was appearing with brilliant success on the Parisian stage as Cleopatra or as Scheherazade. In her lithe and slender body, long straight limbs, and absolutely flat chest, d'Annunzio asserts that he saw the ideal interpreter of his saint.¹⁶ He must, however, have had reasons more personal than the mere idea of the Russian ballerina as the "perfect interpreter." He wrote to Robert de Montesquiou: "Je viens de voir Cléopâtre, je ne domine pas mon trouble, que faire?" And Montesquiou quickly answered: "Une œuvre capable de mettre en lumière les dons uniques d'une telle interprète: écrivez pour elle une tragédie."¹⁷ Since Ida Ru-

¹⁴ Louis Handler, "Avant le *Martyre de Saint Sébastien*," *Comœdia*, May 14, 1911.

¹⁵ See Edmond Stoullig and Édouard Noël, *Annales du théâtre et de la musique*, 1911 (Paris, 1912), p. 387. See also L. Schneider, "Comment d'Annunzio eut l'idée d'écrire le *Martyre de Saint Sébastien*," *Théâtre*, June 1, 1911, pp. 20-24.

¹⁶ See Gustave Cohen, "Gabriele d'Annunzio et le *Martyre de Saint Sébastien*," *MdF*, CCLXXXIV (1938), 369-370.

¹⁷ Robert de Montesquiou, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1923), III, 158. See also Ida Rubinstein, "Ma première rencontre avec Gabriele d'Annunzio," *Conferencia*, Sept. 20, 1927, p. 326.

binstein had no knowledge of Italian, the poet had an added incentive for trying his wings once more in the French language.

There already existed two mystery plays on the life and martyrdom of St. Sebastian, one dating from the fifteenth and one from the sixteenth century.¹⁸ D'Annunzio, guided by Gustave Cohen, examined at the Bibliothèque Nationale the two plays and other sources such as the *Golden Legend* and the *Acta Sanctorum*. However, he utilized his mediaeval sources only in part. An aging and bearded St. Sebastian, as was portrayed by mediaeval tales and mosaics, would not have served his purpose. The poet's mind was dominated by the image of the agile ephebus he admired in Renaissance paintings. His saint, therefore, would be modeled on a living exemplar, Ida Rubinstein. He took his historical data by preference from the *Golden Legend*, making changes and additions of his own, borrowed from the earlier mystery plays their form and rhythm, eliminating the grotesque mediaeval elements, and composed an intensely lyrical work of a lofty and sustained tone.

The *Martyre* is divided into a prologue and five "mansions" which appear as loosely connected episodes. As a result, the play lacks real dramatic crescendo and unity, and has the fragmentary character of the mediaeval compositions of the sort. Moreover, D'Annunzio crystallized the various elements in the immobility of lyric presentation, failing to give the story even the little action it had in the *Golden Legend*.

In order to carry out his work in the verse form of the mystery plays, the poet had to engage in serious research. He made a thorough study of the mediaeval texts, and acquired complete mastery of the archaic phraseology with surprising rapidity. He created an artificial and stilted language characterized by a certain affected refinement peculiar to himself; archaic and modern expressions are brought together with such delicate musical taste as to result in an unusual orchestration of notes and rhythms. "C'est à la fois la langue de l'épopée galante du Moyen Age, la langue de Montaigne ou d'Amyot, la langue de Gautier ou de Banville, tandis que les emplois et les enchainements de rythme rappellent tour à tour la façon des chansons de geste et des Mystères, les procédés des Parnassiens ou des récents poètes symboliques."¹⁹ D'Annunzio's style however, remains modern, despite the numerous archaisms.

The élite was not at all displeased with his linguistic artifice. Gabriel Trarieux hailed in D'Annunzio's play "des dons qui eussent fait rugir de

¹⁸ See Gustave Cohen, "G. d'Annunzio et le *Martyre de Saint Sébastien*," *MdF*, XCI (1911), 688.

¹⁹ Léon Blum, *Au Théâtre* (Paris 1911), IV, 253.

joie le grand Flaubert de la *Tentation de Saint Antoine*."²⁰ The poet had suggested the atmosphere of the mystery plays quite effectively. The day after the first performance, Léon Blum wrote, "Les lettres françaises comptent un grand poète de plus,"²¹ and expressed astonishment at the fact that a foreigner had been able to compose a dramatic poem with such mastery of the resources and vocabulary and rhythm. Gustave Cohen expressed himself in similar terms.²²

There were, nevertheless, many disparagers of the poet and his play. Jean Marnold wrote in the *Mercur de France*: "M. d'Annunzio, par surcroît, induit par des raisons obscures à délaisser ici la langue maternelle, se figura écrire en français parce qu'il employait les mots de notre dictionnaire, et de cette illusion s'ensuivit un verbiage informe, inane, incompréhensible même à la lecture, et à quoi son pathos échevelé donnait tout l'air d'une mystification."²³ Henry Ghéon attacked D'Annunzio in the *Nouvelle Revue française*,²⁴ and François de Nion, in the *Écho de Paris*, went so far as to reproach him for errors in syntax, which infuriated the poet.

D'Annunzio's play was set to music (for solo voices, chorus, and orchestra) by Claude Debussy. Poet and composer worked together feverishly to translate into images and music the Christian myth of the Archer of God. To some critics the collaboration of Italy's foremost poet and France's great composer indicated complete ignorance by both of their respective talents. "Rien n'est plus éloigné du panache flamboyant et tonitruant propre à notre hôte," wrote Jean Marnold, "que la sensibilité délicate et profonde d'un Debussy."²⁵ Pasteur Valléry-Radot says of Debussy: "Ayant en aversion l'emphase, il n'était pas sensible au verbe prestigieux de l'animateur dont le perpétuel lyrisme l'agaçait."²⁶ And Léon Vallas speaks of Debussy "entraîné par l'art de d'Annunzio très loin de son goût personnel."²⁷ But other critics maintained that Debussy was completely captivated by the subject of *Saint Sébastien*. "Il écrivit cette admirable partition," wrote Jacques Durand, "dans l'exaltation. Le sujet mystique convenait à son esthétique plutôt

²⁰ Gabriel Trarieux, "Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien," *Revue*, June 1, 1911, p. 685.

²¹ Léon Blum, *op. cit.*, IV, 257.

²² Gustave Cohen, "Gabriele d'Annunzio et le Martyre de Saint Sébastien," *MdF*, XCI (1911), 708-709.

²³ Jean Marnold, "La Musique," *MdF*, XCII (1911), 625.

²⁴ Henri Ghéon, "A Propos du Martyre de Saint Sébastien," *NRF*, XLIX (1937), 16.

²⁵ Jean Marnold, "La Musique," *MdF*, XCII (1911), 625.

²⁶ Pasteur Valléry-Rabot, "Claude Debussy; souvenirs," *RDM*, May 15, 1938, p. 804.

²⁷ Léon Vallas, *Les Idées de Claude Debussy* (Paris, 1944), p. 246.

intérieure."²⁸ Henry Malherbe quotes the composer as saying: "... le sujet du *Martyre* m'a séduit surtout par ce mélange de vie intense et de foi chrétienne."²⁹ D'Annunzio's *Libro segreto*³⁰ extols Debussy's spontaneous acceptance of collaboration in the project, and the happy circumstance is also confirmed by correspondence between composer and poet.³¹ The score for the play was written in great haste and completed in less than two months, between January and March, 1911. The task imposed an enormous physical and mental strain, and there were moments when Debussy was on the point of admitting failure. He felt that he should have had more time to penetrate the subject matter and dissolve it into music.³² But Gabriel Astruc, director of the Théâtre du Châtelet, and Ida Rubinstein were waiting impatiently; the opening date had already been set, the press had publicized the coming performance of the play, and the Parisian public awaited with great interest the theatrical event which was to reveal D'Annunzio as a French poet, set to music by Claude Debussy. On March 9, 1911, the play was read to the principals in the cast, and on May 22 it was performed at the Théâtre du Châtelet with a sumptuous stage setting by Léon Bakst.

Unfortunately, the presentation left the general public noticeably disappointed. The play met with strong adverse criticism from the Catholic press, whose attacks helped discredit it, at least for the moment. Monsignor Amette, Archbishop of Paris, knowing the pagan tendencies of D'Annunzio's and Debussy's art, had publicly condemned *Saint Sébastien*, even before the opening performance, on the basis of reports from Catholic observers. The poet and the composer found it necessary to defend themselves in an open letter in which they declared: "Nous affirmons—sur notre foi et sur la foi de tous ceux qui connaissent le *Martyre de Saint Sébastien*—que cette œuvre, profondément religieuse, est la glorification lyrique non seulement de l'athlète du Christ mais de tout l'héroïsme chrétien."³³ But their defense failed to sway Catholic critics, to whom the figure of the saint seemed to be completely profaned

²⁸ Jacques Durand, *Quelques souvenirs d'un éditeur de musique* (Paris, 1925), p. 25.

²⁹ Henry Malherbe, "Est-ce une renaissance de la musique religieuse?," *Excelsior*, Feb. 11, 1911.

³⁰ *Tutte le opere; Prose di ricerca di lotta*, etc. (Milan, 1950), II, 913. "Claudio di Francia, al mio primo modo di leggergli le parti del poema ansiose di compirsi nella musica, comprese; e non si maravigliò se non per amarmi, se non per donarsi intiero e puro."

³¹ See *D'Annunzio et Debussy; correspondance*, ed. Guy Tosi (Paris, 1948).

³² In a letter to André Caplet Debussy declared that "dans les conditions où il allait travailler, il ne lui fallait pas songer une minute à choisir, mais se contenter du 'tout-venant.'" R. Dumesnil, *MdF*, CCCXXIX (1957), 696.

³³ *D'Annunzio et Debussy; correspondance*, p. 32.

by the sensual atmosphere of blood and perfume created around him. It was looked upon as an unforgivable sacrilege that D'Annunzio, the author of *Il piacere*, should have written a religious play. Henri Ghéon vehemently criticized the poet not only on religious but also on artistic grounds, affirming that the play was a blasphemy against art, since art selects, sacrifices, and respects, all of which D'Annunzio had failed to do.³⁴

The equivocal religious nature of the play is unquestionable. In *Saint Sébastien* there is such a strange mixture of pagan fervor and Christian tenderness that the martyr is often confounded with Adonis. In the third "mansion" especially the poet gives a clear glimpse of the resemblances between Sebastian, beloved by Emperor Diocletian, and Adonis, cherished by Aphrodite. Of Sebastian one sees only his narcissistic beauty enveloped in languorous and voluptuous ecstasy, which the atmosphere of tortures and the fragrance of blossoms tinge with sadistic sensualism. The dramatic tone of certain passages recalls vaguely Wilde's *Salomé*. The figure of the saint seemed to be profaned not only by the poetry but also by the music, which became more suggestive at the very moment when the poet's inspiration, freeing itself from empty rhetorical forms, assumed an ambiguous mystical tone which was nothing but the exaltation of the senses. The Christian spirit which the work was to express is thus paganized and sacrificed to the idea of physical beauty, which dominates the play. Some critics maintained, in defense of D'Annunzio, that his intention had been to contrast the Christian spirit of Sebastian, destined to triumph, with the declining paganism of the Diocletian age. But, rather than a contrast between the Christian and the pagan worlds, D'Annunzio's play was meant to be a synthesis. The Renaissance painters had already offered this synthesis when, concerned with reviving the aesthetic principle of paganism in a new Christian art, they fused the spirituality of the saint with the beautiful physical form of Adonis. In Sodoma's *San Sebastiano* (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi), what stands out most prominently is not the mystical ecstasy of the martyr but his physical beauty pervaded by a certain sensual abandon. Similar characteristics are found in Antonio del Pollaiuolo's painting (London, National Gallery), in which D'Annunzio claims to have found inspiration. The poet proceeded in the very spirit of Renaissance aesthetics, and it is in this spirit that he insistently magnifies and deifies, through the words of the emperor, the soldiers, and the women, the physical beauty of the saint. Diocletian, unable to con-

³⁴ Henry Ghéon, "A Propos du *Martyre de Saint Sébastien*," *NRF*, VI (1911), 6.

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vince Sebastian to renounce his Christian faith, commands that he be killed gently, under a shower of blossoms, "... car il est beau." It was quite understandable that the *Martyre de Saint Sébastien*, which would undoubtedly have been approved by any Renaissance churchman, should infuriate the Archbishop of Paris in 1911.

The reason for the failure of the play, however, is not to be sought in the anathemas of the Church, but mainly in certain defects of the work itself and in technical errors in the production. The complexity of the themes and thoughts, the intricacy and subtlety of images, and the excessive verbosity slowed the development of the dramatic action and made the play difficult to follow. Moreover, the author's deliberate use of archaisms and the poor pronunciation of Ida Rubinstein resulted in complete obscurity of language in certain passages. Finally, the vast and complicated stage setting so engulfed the play that only a confused echo of words and music reached the spectators. D'Annunzio's high-sounding verse was lost amid the resplendent scenery. The public, before this enchanted forest of decoration, images, and music soon felt utterly bored.

The poet's attempt to revive the mediaeval mystery play and arouse feelings of tenderness or emotion of a mystical nature was smothered by his inveterate and outworn sensualism, from which he could not free himself even when dealing with a religious theme. The primitive religious ardor of the main characters, cast against such a decadent background, appeared as a ridiculous anachronism. The refinement of D'Annunzio's style, the languid tone of the music, the rhythm of the dance, and the splendor of the decorations clearly expressed his stylized and empty aestheticism. The play, lacking in real religious emotion and psychological interest, dissolved into pure spectacle and music. Its mysticism was purely decorative. This explains why D'Annunzio sought the collaboration of a dancer such as Ida Rubinstein and of a composer of an evanescent sensibility. The erudite use of archaic French was particularly suited to a decorative work as an ingredient capable of rendering the matter more delicately palatable. From the strictly theatrical point of view, the same general observations made by French critics concerning nearly all of D'Annunzio's plays applied also to *Saint Sébastien*.³⁵ D'Annunzio was more of a lyric than a dramatic poet. His

³⁵ All of D'Annunzio's plays (with the exception of *Più che l'amore* and *La nave*) were translated into French and widely discussed by critics across the Alps. Most of them were presented in the French theaters, with varying success. First to be performed was the *Sogno d'un mattino di primavera*, in Italian with Eleanora Duse at the Théâtre de la Renaissance in 1897. *La Ville morte* was presented at the same theater in 1898 with Sarah Bernhardt. In 1905 *La Gioconda* and *La Fille de Iorio* were produced at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre with Suzanne Desprès. *Phèdre*

plays lacked the agility of movement and the sobriety of form necessary for dramatic action. On the stage they "piétinaient sur place."

The *Martyre de Saint Sébastien* was first published in the theatrical supplement of *L'Illustration*, May 27, 1911, and about a month later was printed in book form by Calmann-Lévy. The volume carried a long dedication to Maurice Barrès: "... Ce poème composé dans le pays de Montaigne et de la forte résine, je vous le dédie parce que vous avez trouvé vos cadences les plus mélodieuses à Pise, à Sienne, à Parme, dans le sépulcre de Ravenne, dans les jardins de Lombardie."³⁶ Barrès, knowing in advance that the work had been dedicated to him, did not wait for the volume to appear, and in a letter of May 31 expressed his gratitude to the poet: "Je rêve de ce livre encore inconnu auquel vous me liez pour ma gloire... Il n'est pas de décoration de Toison d'or ni de Jarretière qu'un roi puisse donner et qui équivalle à ce qu'il vous plaît de faire, cher et grand poète, pour votre reconnaissant admirateur."³⁷

After the production of 1911, various attempts to revive *Saint Sébastien* failed for a number of reasons.³⁸ The first presentation had revealed the excessive heaviness of the poem, which the music, in its subordinate role, did little to relieve. The poet and the composer planned a revision in which the poem would be shortened and the role of the music enlarged. This revision, which would perhaps have changed the mystery play into an opera, was never made. In the summer of 1922 *Saint Sébastien* was produced in its original form at L'Opéra, and was again re-

was produced in 1923 at L'Opéra with the music by Ildebrando Pizzetti, stage setting by Léon Bakst, and Ida Rubinstein in the leading role. *La Torche sous le boisseau* was given at the Comédie Française in 1927. Some of the plays were subsequently produced in other theaters. *La Gioconda* was revived in 1916 at the Réjane, in 1922 at the Champs-Élysées, and in 1923 at L'Œuvre. Public and critics received D'Annunzio's dramatic works with great interest, and the performances often constituted special events of the theatrical season. However, D'Annunzio never achieved genuine success as a dramatist. Only his *La Fille de Iorio* was unanimously considered a good drama. In general, his plays gave the impression of lyrical rather than dramatic works; they were far from traditional French taste in many respects. Armand Caraccio has acutely observed (*Études Italiennes*, 1939-1940, pp. 175-189, "L'Horrible concret dans le théâtre de d'Annunzio") that D'Annunzio sought to arouse tragic emotions from physical mimicry, the material act, the violent gesture, which strikes the eyes, the senses of the spectator. Being unable to work on the psychological level, he portrayed only the physical manifestations of passion.

³⁶ *Tutte le opere*; *Teatro*, II, 385. See also Barrès, *Mes Cahiers* (Paris, 1935), IX, 100-101.

³⁷ As cited by Tom Antongini, *Vita segreta di Gabriele d'Annunzio* (Milan, 1938), p. 381. Barrès intended to dedicate to D'Annunzio, in reciprocation, *Le Mystère en pleine lumière*, when he died in 1923.

³⁸ See D'Annunzio et Debussy; *correspondance*, pp. 41-43.

ceived with extreme coolness. Long and boring, the play seemed to be more the martyrdom of the spectators than of St. Sebastian. "Si le *Martyre* ne durait qu'une heure, ce serait acceptable," wrote Boris de Schloezer, "mais il est pénible de respirer cinq heures durant cette atmosphère de paradis artificiel au goût parisien de 1911."³⁹ Jean Marnold acridly expressed again, and with more emphasis, the same views as in 1911: "Cette brève partition . . . est une des choses les moins musicalement intéressantes . . . La tragédie qu'elle accompagne . . . s'atteste d'une insanité toujours plus évidemment peu commune."⁴⁰ In 1926 the play was produced at La Scala. Despite the ban on it by the Archbishop of Milan, the theater was packed. Toscanini directed the orchestra, and the performance was received with wild enthusiasm. This seemed to be the long-delayed vindication of D'Annunzio and Debussy.

In 1941 the fortune of *Saint Sébastien* began suddenly to change in France. Thirty years after its first performance, the public finally discovered the music which, having failed in the theater, triumphed decisively in concert halls.⁴¹ In 1911 the poet had said: "Quelle que soit l'opinion de la critique et du public sur mon poème, je suis assuré que chacun reconnaîtra dans la partition de Claude Debussy a plus divine source d'émotion."⁴² But how could the music and the poem be considered separately? Since they constitute an inseparable whole, the play was to be revived in its integrity. It is perhaps in this spirit that, in the winter of 1957, *Saint Sébastien* was finally brought back to the stage of L'Opéra. In the new presentation the poem underwent judicious cutting (the score was left intact), its sensualism was attenuated, its erudite developments eliminated. The play lasted only two hours as compared to the five hours it required in 1911 at the Théâtre du Châtelet. Furthermore, the entire atmosphere of the work changed. The performance, without mediaeval costumes, in a stage setting somewhat similar to the Folies Bergère, obliterated most of its religious significance.

The *Martyre de Saint Sébastien* was followed in 1913 by another French play, *La Pisanelle ou la mort parfumée*, a three-act drama in verse.⁴³ This time, in addition to writing in French, the poet chose

³⁹ Boris de Schloezer, "Le *Martyre de Saint Sébastien* à l'Opéra," *NRF*, XIX (1922), 245.

⁴⁰ Jean Marnold, "Saint Sébastien de Gabriele d'Annunzio, musique de Claude Debussy," *MdF*, CLIX (1922), 234.

⁴¹ See P. Le Flem, "Le *Martyre de Saint Sébastien*," *Paris-Midi*, June 17, 1941.

⁴² *D'Annunzio et Debussy; correspondance*, p. 43.

⁴³ The metrical form of the play (blank verse) was borrowed from a comedy by Honoré d'Urfé, *Sylvanire ou la morte vive*. The long prologue uses the tale of a mysterious statue of Venus from Mérimée's *Venus d'Ille*.

French knights, the Lusignans, as the heroes of his play, and the island of Cyprus, dominated by the French, as the setting for the dramatic action. The Parisian public was pleased by this new tribute to the French language and history. Although D'Annunzio called it a comedy, *La Pisanelle* is more of a romantic drama, in which shrieks, blood, and dances create an atmosphere both horrifying and voluptuous. The story is presented as a series of picturesque scenes in which the caustic and coarse spirit of the *fabliaux* is blended with the pathos of mediaeval romance. The protagonist is a harlot, native of Pisa, who bewitches the young and romantic king of Cyprus. The queen mother, in order to get rid of the adventuress, secretly lures her to court, and, after offering her drink, invites her to dance. While the girl dances before the admiring court, a shower of blossoms falls upon her until she succumbs under the weight of the petals.

The diffuseness noticed in *Saint Sébastien* is even more pronounced in *La Pisanelle*, where cumbersome details, especially seafaring terms and images, unduly burden the development of the drama. The play also contains the same pompous glorification of lust and blood which is found in *La nave* and *Il sogno d'un tramonto d'autunno*, and all the usual lust-laden clichés, calculated to raise every motif to ecstatic heights. What is significant is not the death of the protagonist but the manner in which she dies—under a shower of flowers. D'Annunzio's aestheticism is now aggravated by cold and verbose erudition and by an immorality to which he vainly tries to give a tragic sense. An effeminate St. Sebastian who perishes at the hands of his archers (the attempt to kill him under the flowers failed) and enjoys the sight of his own blood, and a Pisanelle voluptuously smothered under a shower of blossoms, express a sensualism too decadent to be dramatic.

The French of the play is even more artificial than that of *Saint Sébastien*; and at times it is more obscure. D'Annunzio had already acquired a close familiarity with mediaeval and Renaissance writers, and from their works he had derived a strange language compounded of Latinisms, Italianisms, lofty expressions and idiotisms, archaic and modern forms, the whole resulting in a sort of bizarre linguistic pot-pourri conspicuous for its inconsistency. The completion of the play in March 1913 was announced by D'Annunzio in these words: "Ho terminato di comporre 4500 versi in una lingua così sapiente che non potrà essere giudicata se non da filologi consumati."⁴⁴ Jean Schlumberger called the French of the play "le plus étrange, le plus indigeste, le plus

⁴⁴ As cited by Angelo Sodini, *Ariel armato* (Milan, 1931), p. 416.

barbare galimatias qu'on puisse concevoir."⁴⁵ But, by a strange contrast of opinions, the linguistic effort was generously praised by other critics. Jean Thouvenin said of D'Annunzio: "Il se meut à l'aise dans le vocabulaire suranné et compliqué du treizième siècle. Il a la force de Ronsard, la grâce de Clément Marot, la robuste et plantureuse ironie de Rabelais."⁴⁶ The French of the play, however, is not always comprehensible.

La Pisanelle, also written for Ida Rubinstein, was produced at the Théâtre du Châtelet in June 1913, with music by Ildebrando Pizzetti. It met with no success. The stage setting, however, was a rare spectacle, perhaps unique in its magnificence. Léon Bakst applied all his artistic talent to give, with pompous and colorful scenery, a sumptuous picture of the Latin Middle East in the period following the Crusades. Meyerhold, one of the most skillful stage directors of the Petrograd Theater, was expressly summoned to Paris for the occasion. But the error committed in the production of *Saint Sébastien* two years earlier was repeated—the play was overwhelmed by the huge décor. After the opening night this was in part corrected, but the first unfavorable impression remained. Paul Souday attributed the failure of the play exclusively to the stage setting, which was, according to him, that of the Russian ballet.⁴⁷ However, this was not the sole reason for the failure. There are in *La Pisanelle*, in addition to the obscurity of the language, the same defects prevalent in all of D'Annunzio's plays: diffuseness, verbosity, excessive lyricism, slow action. There is a prologue of about thirty pages, and the rest of the play hides "... autant de ficelles qu'il en faut pour entortiller le public."⁴⁸ Louis Chardon wrote in *L'Action française*: "Ces quatre actes distillent un ennui morne. Le dialogue est phraséologique, déclamatoire, niais et prétentieux."⁴⁹ Some of the critics who disliked *La Pisanelle* leveled their attacks not only at the play and D'Annunzio's French, but also at Ida Rubinstein's foreign accent. The actress' charm, it was maintained, vanished the moment she opened her mouth to speak. The atmosphere of the performance of *La Pisanelle* at the Théâtre du Châtelet was strangely exotic. The author and the composer were Italians; the set designer and the stage director, Russians; the others involved in the presentation were Germans, Hungarians, Poles; the leading interpreter was a Jewess from the Petrograd Theater. Altogether the mixture was anything but Par-

⁴⁵ Jean Schlumberger, "*La Pisanelle ou la mort parfumée*," *NRF*, X (1913), 128.

⁴⁶ Jean Thouvenin, "*La Pisanelle*," *Annales politiques et littéraires*, LX (1913), 535.

⁴⁷ Paul Souday, "*La Pisanelle*," *L'Éclair*, June 13, 1913.

⁴⁸ Guillaume Apollinaire, "*La Vie anecdotique*," *MdF*, June 1, 1913, p. 661.

⁴⁹ Louis Chardon, "*La Pisanelle*," *L'Action française*, June 13, 1913.

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isian. If one adds to the exoticism of the play that of the language and the accent of Ida Rubinstein, the Babel appears complete.

Immediately after its production, *La Pisanelle* was published in the *Revue de Paris* (June 15, July 1 and 15, 1913), and in the same year it appeared in Italy, in a verse translation by Ettore Janni. Its book publication in France was delayed until 1941. D'Annunzio wished to write a preface for the volume (perhaps an erudite essay such as the one Manzoni wrote for his *Adelchi*) and, finding neither the time nor the inspiration, kept postponing it. Finally, in the solitude of his Vittoriale, he composed the long-delayed preface, which is said to have been about five hundred manuscript pages in length. What eventually happened to this unusual preface is not known. The play, which had been in type at Calmann-Lévy's since 1913, was published in 1941 without the preface and with a changed subtitle: . . . *ou le jeu de la rose et de la mort*. The moment for publication was ill-chosen, and the volume passed almost unnoticed. There was only one review article, "Un Revenant: Gabriele d'Annunzio," by André Bellessort in the weekly, *La Voix française*, of September 12, 1941, in which the poet and the play were sharply censured.

The theatrical failure of *Saint Sébastien* and *La Pisanelle* did not disturb D'Annunzio in the least. At the end of 1913 a new French drama of his entitled *Le Chèvrefeuille* (a three-act tragedy in prose) was produced on the Parisian stage. The play had been sketched out in Italian and translated into French by I. de Casa-Fuerte at Arcachon.⁵⁰ *Le Chèvrefeuille* was presented and published without the translator's name, and the critics erroneously concluded that D'Annunzio had written it originally in French. The Italian text was published with the title *Il Ferro*. In the French version, revised by the poet, the names of the characters are changed. Although *Le Chèvrefeuille* and *Il Ferro* are collected in the various editions of D'Annunzio's works as two distinct plays, they involve no substantial differences. The French translation follows the Italian original so literally that D'Annunzio's stylistic acrobatics are often clearly perceptible. The French of the play, however, is definitely more consistent and uniform than that of the two previous works.

Le Chèvrefeuille is a gloomy drama of passion. Although its title reminds one of Marie de France's lay, the theme echoes Aeschylus, Shakespeare, and Bourget. The protagonist is an enigmatic girl who finds herself in a situation similar to that of Electra, Hamlet, or André Cornélis. She senses that her father was murdered, suspects the com-

⁵⁰ I. de Casa-Fuerte, "Comment naquit le *Chèvrefeuille* de Gabriele d'Annunzio," *Revue mondiale*, Dec. 15, 1933, pp. 17-20.

plicity of her mother, and seeks vengeance. The plot unfolds in an atmosphere of mystery and terror, strange visions, hatred, and jealousy. Artistically it offers nothing new. It repeats psychological attitudes and motifs of earlier works by D'Annunzio, such as *La fiaccola sotto il moggio*, *La gloria*, *Più che l'amore*, etc. The tendency to evoke the invisible behind the visible, and to suggest mysterious secrets behind the uttered words is reminiscent especially of *Fedra* and *Forse che sì forse che no*. Although carefully planned in its structure and close to traditional tragedy in its mood, there are puzzling obscurities in *Le Chèvrefeuille* which seem intentional.

The play was produced at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin in December 1913, and was published in the *Revue de Paris* of June 15, July 1 and 15, 1914.⁵¹ Despite its obscurities and incongruities it had a greater theatrical success than *Saint Sébastien* and *La Pisanelle*. Critics hastened to admit that *Le Chèvrefeuille* deserved praise, for it was by no means sheer spectacle. Henri Ghéon, who had previously been an adverse critic of D'Annunzio, wrote of the new play: "... Et d'abord c'est un drame. Dépouillez-le des nuances fleuries qui l'enguirlandent, il ne se réduit pas au néant, il peut toucher, il peut charmer ... *Le Chèvrefeuille* vaut dix fois, vaut cent fois et le *Martyre de Saint Sébastien* et *La Pisanelle* ... Il a une certaine force dramatique."⁵² René Doumic, who had attended the first performance of *La Pisanelle*, said now: "... On a su gré à M. d'Annunzio d'en avoir si tôt effacé jusqu'au souvenir et d'avoir tenu à prendre une de ces revanches come prennent les vrais poètes."⁵³ The pure aesthetes praised, as usual, the sumptuousness of his style and the magnificence of his images. Someone remarked that never before had D'Annunzio shown his real stature as a French poet. Yet *Le Chèvrefeuille* fell short of a complete success because of its verbal excesses and the complexity of its images. "D'Annunzio écrit en français lyrique admirable," observed Alphonse Siché, "mais qui sent trop l'étude, qui est trop archaïque, qui est totalement dénué de simplicité."⁵⁴ Jean Thouvenin echoed the same feeling: D'Annunzio's ideas "... se dissimulent sous un flux de mots magnifiques et rares qui déconcertent un peu le spectateur."⁵⁵ This stylistic speciousness undoubtedly appealed to the select few who were more interested in florid declamations than in dramatic action.

⁵¹ *Il Ferro* was presented simultaneously in Milan, Turin, and Rome in Jan. 1914, without success.

⁵² Henri Ghéon, "*Le Chèvrefeuille*," *NRF*, XI (1914), 346-347.

⁵³ René Doumic, "*Le Chèvrefeuille*," *RDM*, Jan. 15, 1914, p. 445.

⁵⁴ Alphonse Siché, "*Le Chèvrefeuille*," *Revue du mois*, Jan. 10, 1914, p. 136.

⁵⁵ Jean Thouvenin, "*Le Chèvrefeuille*," *Annales politiques et littéraires*, LXI (1913), 588.

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D'Annunzio's later writings in French—occasional pieces inspired by political events or by his desire to pay a new tribute of love to France, the country which had glorified his novels and received him with open arms when he sought voluntary exile there—have little literary importance.⁵⁶ At the outbreak of World War I, during the tragic hours of the German invasion of France, the poet composed "L'Ode pour la résurrection latine." Discarding his habitual archaisms, he sought a highly lyrical tone in simple modern French. The ode is a war cry addressed to hesitant Italy in the name of Latin brotherhood:

Voici ton jour, voici ton heure,
Italie; et, pour cette heure,
des années merveilleuses,
la plénitude de tes allégresses! . . .
Malheur à toi si tu doutes,
malheur à toi si tu hésites,
malheur à toi si tu n'oses jeter le dé.⁵⁷

D'Annunzio's eleven stanzas of twenty lines each (blank verse) are not among the best of his patriotic verses. The French fails to communicate the brilliance and suggestive power of his high-flown imagery. One feels a strain and a certain lack of musicality. The poet's talent was deeply rooted in the Italian language; his poetic images were perfectly molded in the Italian form. The attempt to clothe them in an artificial expression (D'Annunzio's French was a mere artifice) leads to their deformation. Yet the ode has some suggestive passages, especially when the poet's emotion becomes more direct and spontaneous and the closeness to Italian permits successful transposition:

Je crie et j'invoque: "O Italie! O France!"
Et j'entends, par-dessus les sépulcres fendus
et par-dessus tes lauriers hérissés,
Victoire, le tonnerre des aigles
qui se précipitent vers l'Est
et de toutes leurs serres déchirent la nuit.
Le jour est proche! Voici le jour!⁵⁸

But historical references and cumbersome parallels often overburden

⁵⁶ The poet lived in France from Jan. 1910 to May 1915. At first he resided in Paris; but, after six months of dissipated life in the French capital, he retired to Arcachon near Bordeaux, first as guest of Romaine Brooks (an American painter) at the chalet Saint-Dominique, then as the tenant of the chalet, which became his favorite residence in France and where he composed several of his works. In Oct. 1958 a bust of the poet was erected in the town of Arcachon with the inscription: "La France à Gabriele d'Annunzio."

⁵⁷ *Tutte le opere; Versi d'amore e di gloria*, II, 998.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 996.

the natural flow of lyrical expression, and the poem falls into sheer declamation or dead erudition.

D'Annunzio's ode, dedicated to the "Victoire certaine" at a moment when every hope seemed to be lost, was published in *Le Figaro*, August 13, 1914. The poet sent it in manuscript to Marie de Régnier: "Le jour de la victoire, vous la brûlerez 'sacri thuris honores' à notre dieu."⁵⁹ But Madame de Régnier did not burn the manuscript, which she considered precious: "Relisez-la, cette ode, qui d'un mouvement de victoire, porte en son essor ce cri de héros et de poète, ce cri d'amour pour la France, enfin unie à la patrie qui est la sienne."⁶⁰

When he was leaving France in May 1915 after five years of uninterrupted residence,⁶¹ D'Annunzio composed a series of four "sonnets d'amour" entitled *Sur une image de la France croisée peinte par Romaine Brooks*⁶² and meant as a poetical farewell to his "seconda patria." The four poems were published for the first time in *Le Figaro*, May 5, 1915. D'Annunzio had sent the manuscript with a letter to the editor, Alfred Capus: "Ils sont inédits. J'aimerais les donner au public français en guise d'adieu. Voulez-vous les publier dans le *Figaro*, le matin du 5 mai? A la même heure nous serons des alliés."⁶³ They were later collected in the *Anthologie des poèmes de la Grande Guerre*, edited by Prévost and Dornier in 1921. They were reprinted in March 1938 as a commemorative gesture (the poet died on March 1) in *Yggdrasil*, a monthly bulletin of poetry, and finally included in the anthology *Poètes contemporains*, published by Firmin-Didot the same year. The third sonnet, which we reproduce here, first appeared separately in *Le Mercure de France* for May 1, 1915, before publication in *Le Figaro*, and was highly praised by critics:

France, France, la douce entre les héroïnes,
bénie, amour du monde, ardente sous la croix,
comme aux murs d'Antioche alors que Godefroi
sentait sous son camail la couronne d'épines,

⁵⁹ As cited by Marie de Régnier, "Adieu à D'Annunzio," *RDM*, Mar. 15, 1938, p. 465.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

⁶¹ D'Annunzio's long stay in France was improperly called "exile." He had left Italy voluntarily to escape his creditors. By nature he was not particularly inclined to move from one place to another, and when he did change his residence it was only to run away either from women or creditors.

⁶² Romaine Brooks, to whom D'Annunzio dedicated a French sonnet (*Tutte le opere*, I), painted a portrait of him at Arcachon. The portrait, which is now in the Musée d'Art Moderne in Paris, shows the poet from his knees up, wearing a wind-blown cloak and standing at the edge of a reef; the foam of a wave forms the background of the painting, which on the whole is a good interpretation of the personality of D'Annunzio.

⁶³ *Tutte le opere; Versi d'amore e di gloria*, II, 1135.

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debout avec ton Dieu comme au pont de Bouvines,
dans la gloire à genoux comme aux champs de Rocroi,
neuve immortellement comme l'herbe qui croît
aux bords de tes tombeaux, aux creux de tes ruines,

fraîche comme le jet de ton blanc peuplier
que demain tu sauras en guirlandes plier
pour les chants non chantés de ta jeune pléiade

ressuscitée en Christ qui fait de ton linceul
confalon de lumière et cotte de croisade,
"France, France, sans toi le monde serait seul."⁶⁴

In 1919, angry with the Allies because of the Fiume problem, D'Annunzio wrote an open letter to the people of Dalmatia publicly denouncing the diplomatic maneuvers against Italy's territorial claims. In a fit of rage against the French government, he imprudently uttered words recalling the "Pasque veronesi" (a massacre of French soldiers which took place at Verona in 1797, the day after Easter). This allusion, malignantly distorted and misconstrued by the official press, grieved his numerous friends across the Alps. D'Annunzio then wrote his *Aveux de l'ingrat*, a short prose work partly lyrical, partly polemical, which was immediately printed by the publisher Grasset. His French, ever florid and Italianate, is here quite different from the artificial language of his literary works. Archaisms are less frequent, the expression more direct and coherent. He movingly reaffirms his love for France, reminding the forgetful of what he had done in May 1915. The misunderstanding, however, was soon cleared up. His indignation was directed against the Quai d'Orsay and particularly against Clemenceau, the "docteur ès étoiles." His affection for France remained untouched: "Si vous avez oublié mon amour d'hier, que m'importe? Je saurai bien me faire aimer davantage, demain. Il faut que chacun tue son amour pour qu'il revive sept fois plus ardent."⁶⁵

After the storm of war and peace, D'Annunzio once more turned his attention to "la langue d'oïl." He had planned to write and dedicate to Marie de Régnier the lives of three imaginary saints: "Les Trois Riantes Martyres sans liens exclues de la Légende d'or: I. Sainte Erbeline de Ruissel; II. Sainte Salmendre d'Arduor; III. Sainte Gouttette de Roussée." This fanciful book was never written; but its title appears in the national edition of D'Annunzio's works with the notes prepared for its composition.⁶⁶ In 1930 he finished, instead, *Le Dit du sourd et muet*, the first and only volume of a trilogy that he intended to write

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1005-1006.

⁶⁵ *Tutte le opere; Prose di ricerca*, I, 829.

⁶⁶ Vol. LXXVIII of the Edizione Nazionale, 1928-1936.

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under the general title of *Li Trois Livres Oscurs dou Trésor de Brunet Latin*. The second and third volumes, entitled "Le Lai des Plaisirs Parlants, de la Salmendre Lubrique et du Canardeau d'Abailard Chastreté à matines" and "Le Jeu de la Rose et de la mort," remained only in the mind of the poet, now at its twilight. The first volume was published in Rome in 1936, with the bizarre title, *De Gabriele d'Annunzio qu'on nommait Guerri de Danpnes: Le Dit du sourd et muet qui fut miraculé en l'an de grâce 1226*. This book, which he defines as a sort of "fableau tour à tour choral dialogué dansable,"⁶⁷ is dedicated "Aux bons chevaliers latins de France et d'Italie . . . pour opposer hardiment un lumineux témoignage d'amour à des ombres importunes." D'Annunzio narrates, in an archaic prose crammed with confused historical reminiscences, a miracle performed by Saint Louis in the Sainte-Chapelle. Although the subject matter of the tale is religious, the voluptuous note is still present in D'Annunzio's pages; panting bodies of women, virgins filled with desire, still disturb the crepuscular dreams of the poet.

In 1935, when the Italian-Abyssinian conflict was brought before the League of Nations, D'Annunzio wrote a long message addressed again "Aux bons chevaliers de France et d'Italie." This is his last tribute. The message, consisting of about fifty pages of desultory fancies, is a pathetic document of a declining intelligence. D'Annunzio's mind seems to have been invaded by all kinds of phantoms. He now addresses himself to France as an "écrivain combattant français," calling her to the side of Italy in the name of Latin brotherhood. He patches together passages from *Le Dit du sourd et muet* and the *Aveux de l'ingrat*, quotes repeatedly the "Ode pour la résurrection latine," and lapses constantly into the *déjà dit*.

D'Annunzio's French works represent on the whole a uniquely intense, if only partially successful, amalgamation of two sister languages and cultural traditions. They spring from his constant desire to prove his unflinching love for France. His effort to gain mastery of the French language and to assimilate the vast culture in which it is rooted is, indeed, admirable. But his artistic talent was too strongly established in his native tongue to be susceptible of radical metamorphoses, under whatever influence. His linguistic and cultural acquisitions remained, artistically, a foreign world superposed on his native world. His endeavors as a French writer lack artistic spontaneity and, as a result, fall short of his expectations. Nevertheless, his French works are an interesting attempt at cultural blending.

His French is fragmentary. It is derived from different texts rather

⁶⁷ *Tutte le opere; Prose di ricerca*, III, 843.

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than felt as an organic expressive system, a linguistic experience. Archaic forms are often mingled with modern forms, noble terms with popular terms, resulting in incoherent and anachronistic combinations which represent not one language but the confusion or juxtaposition of many.

D'Annunzio preferred archaic French in his more literary works, but used modern French in his patriotic or polemical compositions. But in either case he followed his personal instinct and artistic taste in his choice of words, as well as in the construction of his phrases, without perceptible concern for the ordinary usage of the language. He often boasted to his French translator, Georges Hérèlle, that he never conformed to the common usage of the Italian language. This was true of his French as well. D'Annunzio is adamant in his determination to convey his favorite images through his new expressive medium. Whether the syntax is forced, whether the common usage is violated, whether the words are old or new, are for him questions of secondary importance.

Tulane University

H. M. RICHMOND

Polyphemus in England: A Study in Comparative Literature

SOME POETIC themes, such as the deserted lover's lament, are so obviously charged with feeling as to be naturally the prey for every naive poetaster seeking dramatic effect. There are other conventional situations which seem to attract many truly professional poets, not because they are universally accepted sources of emotion but because the bizarre circumstances involved offer an unsmudged emotional outline. Such an outline is precise enough at once to stimulate the artist's creative powers and also to make it readily clear to his readers where his own perceptions have come into play. The possibility of this sophisticated kind of reaction goes far to explain the many strange, not to say grotesque, subjects which artists have chosen to perpetuate.

One typical situation of this kind, almost too precisely defined and remote from everyday life to command serious interest, is that of the rustic wooer courting some comparatively refined mistress. Despite its apparently narrow scope there can be no doubt of the popularity of this theme, as Mr. R. S. Forsythe has shown in his extensive (though not exhaustive) list of examples, published in 1925.¹ There is clearly something so fascinating to poets in this quaint motif as to suggest that its use will repay close critical study as a good example of its kind. Mr. Harry Levin has already shown in *The Overreacher*² how an examin-

¹ "The Passionate Shepherd and English Poetry," *PMLA*, XL (1925), 692-742. Mr. Forsythe notes several of the poems which I analyze, without discussing their literary significance. However, he overlooks both mediaeval and Renaissance Latin verse, and underestimates the range of the classical sources.

² Cambridge, 1952. See particularly pp. 17, 45, 68, 74, 93, 151-156.

ation of the theme assists the understanding of the work of one user of it. What I would like to do here is to consider the value of studying such a topic through its successive transformations at the hands of major or typical poets at various periods.

The convention must first be described. It might aptly be called "the bucolic temptation," since what happens is that the unpolished countryman addresses his intended mistress in uncouth but forthright speech—attempting to translate into terms of rural resources those costly temptations to indulgence of which a metropolitan lover might dispose. Flowery meads are offered for carpets, spring water for wine, pretty baby animals for playthings, and so on. The convention takes its place readily enough in the general frame of pastoral poetry, but it differs from most pastoral conventions in that its terms prevent any ready transcription back into courtly life. The situation is a literal one and purely, even naively, dramatic—an uncouth lover unavailingly attempts to seduce a lady by crude temptations. This theme has regularly attracted major poets as varied as Theocritus and Ben Jonson, Marlowe and Virgil. The history, in brief, of its exploitation will do something to explain its interest and importance.

The original myth on which this theme of pastoral courtship is based is the well-known story of Polyphemus and Galatea. From the start this particular myth was marked out as curious. Pierre Grimal remarks: "Après les poèmes homériques, Polythème devient de façon assez étrange le héros d'une aventure amoureuse, avec la Néréide Galatée."³ The first conspicuous occasion on which this transformation appears is customarily fixed as the composition of a satirical poem, no longer extant, by a Greek poet named Philoxenus, in which the author attacks the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius I. Dionysius had condemned Philoxenus to the quarries for seducing one of the women of the court, and the poet spent his captivity (which he refused to terminate at the price of praising the tyrant's own verses) in writing a satire on the shortsighted, or possibly half-blind ruler, under the name of Polyphemus. In the poem Dionysius was given the unflattering role of the uncouth and unrewarded wooer of Galatea. Here we have the genuinely historical context which serves to define the significant points of a new poetic tradition. From these unique circumstances this tradition acquires its astringent, satirical flavor—refreshingly sharp and true to a harsher view of nature than that displayed in suaver pastoral themes.

It is true that Virgil transposed the subject in his Second Eclogue to the lower if more melodious pitch of the conventional pastoral, but not

³ *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine* (Paris, 1951), p. 387.

before the story had found definitive expression in the severer form, in the earliest surviving and not least polished of its sources—one of the *Idylls* of Theocritus (xi, 30). Theocritus displays the theme in its pristine simplicity, exactly catching the grotesque and yet “naturalistic” method with which Philoxenus probably mocked his provincial poetaster overlord:

I know, fair maid, why thou fliest. It is because a shaggy brow stretches over all my forehead—one long and single brow from ear to ear; and single is the eye beneath, and broad the nostril above my lip. Yet, though such I be, I tend a thousand head of cattle, and draw and drink from them the finest milk. Cheese I lack not, neither in summer, nor autumn, nor in the depth of winter, and my racks are ever heavy. And I can pipe as none other Cyclops here, as often in the depths of night I sing of thee, my sweet honey-apple, and of myself. And for thee I rear eleven fawns with collars all, and four bear cubs.⁴

Here is the finality of the classic pose which Keats admired—a relation firmly displayed, without mannerism or elaboration. The various figures—withdrawn yet sophisticated mistress, monstrous lover, and all the images of rural luxury—are set out in deep if plain relief. A situation exists with a firmly defined outline and hence one which defines, equally firmly, the emotion involved.

Virgil does not display this kind of bold line in his composition. Seeking a softer emotional pattern, he acts as might be predicted—for, in the Second Eclogue, almost all the precise details of the older context of the speech are discreetly erased. The grotesque Cyclops fades to the usual sophisticated courtier shepherd of conventional pastoral verse, while Galatea's tacit repudiation is transformed into the trivial petulance of a boy insensitive to his friend's charm. The various possibilities of the basic situation which sustains the speaker's emotion are thus very lightly exploited. The central “plot” is slight and so is the emotion it involves. The reader's approval is won chiefly by the delicate border of literary engraving surrounding this miniature central design, which serves chiefly as a point of reference for the total aesthetic effect while our positive interest is directed to the grace of such arabesques as these:

huc ades, o formose puer: tibi lilia plenis
ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis, tibi candida Nais,
pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens
narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi;⁵

⁴ Ed. and trans. A. S. F. Gow (Cambridge, 1952), I, 88.

⁵ Loeb ed., trans. H. R. Fairclough (London, 1935), I, 10: “Come hither lovely boy! See, for you the Nymphs bring lilies in heaped-up baskets; for you the fair Naiad, plucking pale violets and poppy heads, bends narcissus and sweet scented fennel flower...”

But these effects are part of the technical apparatus of any pastoral poet and bear no such dynamic relation to the feeling defined by the dramatic context as we found in the Theocritus version. Virgil thus deftly adapts the theme to suit his peculiar brand of polished virtuosity.

Ovid prefers a more orthodox pattern, using the original characters, in his *Metamorphoses* (xiii, 789). Ovid's style is lusher than Virgil's, more exotically rural. His Cyclops is indeed a naive country poet, heaping epithet on epithet in images systematically drawn from the countryside—the plums are “juicy and purple-black” or “the large yellow kind, yellow as new wax”; to Galatea he says, “you surpass the alder in your tall slenderness,” and calls her “tougher than willow twigs.” One thinks of Keats's heavily charged verse. Ovid has made a positive effort, while in all respects conserving the pattern, to evoke vividly the actual pastoral setting, something quite different from the urban lawn on which Virgil's scene is played. There is, in Ovid, some feeling for the dramatic character of the speaker, his naïveté, his prosperous self-satisfaction, and his brimming good will.

These three classical illustrations show three reactions to the theme. It will be noted that the most divergent example—Virgil's—is also the least dynamic and emotionally significant. Ovid's lacks the sculptural simplicity of Theocritus' work, but adds to our understanding of the theme—Polyphemus gains from this pen the spontaneous fascination that a later monster, Comus, more artfully assumes. Ovid at once illuminates the potentialities of the theme and allows scope for his own exotic style. He writes in the best tradition of the poet who accommodates a well-defined formula to his own style and insights.

The many other classical exploitations of the theme are of less importance, though Propertius makes some faintly mocking allusions to Virgil's courtly detachment from the pastoral setting in the Second Eclogue;⁶ and, elsewhere, he visualizes the Polyphemus plea, not as a realistic pattern of feeling, but as a nostalgic picture of the naive courtships of the Golden Age.⁷

The Middle Ages, probably all too well aware of primitive life's attributes, found less charm in the theme. But one early poet, of the tenth century, echoes the rhetorical formula, though preferring a more metropolitan setting:

Iam, dulcis amica, venito,
quam sicut cor meum diligo.
Intra in cubiculum meum,
ornamentis cunctis onustum.

⁶ Loeb ed., trans. H. E. Butler (London, 1912), p. 170.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

POLYPHEMUS IN ENGLAND

Ibi sunt sedilia strata
et domus velis ornata
Floresque in domo sparguntur
herbeque fragantes miscentur...⁸

This little poem is worthy of note because it belongs to the tradition, at least in its imperative opening—the lover's posture and method of persuasion resembles that of Polyphemus, though in the slender bounds of a lyric almost all the localizing features have been suppressed. In the absence of all the defining details except this rhetorical pattern, the emotional content is reduced to its absolute minimum and yet survives—this being the charm of many mediaeval Latin lyrics.

With the Renaissance we find many academic versions of Theocritus, Virgil, and Ovid, which are exclusively imitative. When traces of an original use of the Polyphemus theme emerge, they are mingled with the strains of Horace's famous ode in praise of rural life—the difference being, therefore, that such a poet as Muretus, in his *Elegia Tertia*, makes the countryside the setting for peaceful love:

Scire cupis, quae sit votorum summa meorum
Et quā praecipuē vivere sorte velim?
Non ego tecta mihi Phrygiis innixa columnis,
Divitis aut auri pondera mille petam...
Sed tecum longae traducere tempora vitae,
Securumque tuo semper amore frui...
Tecum ego per montes, tecum per devia tesqua,
Et curram nullo per loca tacta pede...⁹

No one familiar with English Renaissance lyrics can avoid noting an echo of this poem in the late sixteenth century—an echo which recalls these themes in more melodious accents, as befits a sophisticated muse. For Muretus had written:

⁸ H. Waddell, ed. and trans., *Medieval Latin Lyrics* (London, 1933), p. 144:

"Come, sweetheart, come,
Dear as my heart to me,
Come to the room
I have made fine for thee.
Here there be couches spread,
Tapestry tented,
Flowers for thee to tread,
Green herbs sweet scented..."

⁹ R. Gherus ed., *Delitiae c. Poetarum Gallorum* (Frankfurt, 1609), II, 740: "You wish to know what may be the height of my desires, and in what manner I would particularly like to live? I do not seek roofs supported with Phrygian columns or weighted with priceless gold and riches... but with you to pass the extent of a long life and to enjoy your love always in security... With you I would wander in the mountains, with you along winding paths and in places never touched by foot..."

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Non quicquid mentes sollicitare potest
Sed nemora, et placido currentes murmure rivi,
Demulcensque rudi carmine pastor oves.¹⁰

Marlowe's lyric muse recalls this strain in the first two stanzas of his famous "The passionate Sheepheard to his loue":

Come liue with mee, and be my loue,
And we will all the pleasures proue,
That Vallies, groues, hills and fieldes,
Woods, or steepie mountaine yeeldes.

And wee will sit vpon the Rocks,
Seeing the Sheepheards feede thyr flocks
By shallow Riuers, to whose falls
Melodious byrds sing Madrigalls...¹¹

The contrast between Muretus and Marlowe is striking, and it is clear that Marlowe's methods have more in common with those of the tenth-century poet than with those of other models. As Mr. Harry Levin observes of the English lyric's construction, "Marlowe seems to have chosen the shortest and simplest and smoothest"¹² of ways to compose his poem. The use of octosyllabic couplets is typical—their brevity and quick rhyme eliminate that expansive working out of the pattern which we found in Ovid. This economy produces an emotional formula as slight as Virgil's; but in the pruning of Virgil's spacious arabesques there is room only for the essential gestures of even the rhetorical pattern. As with the unnamed Latin lyricist, the imperative is given an initial prominence; and this it is, more than the conventional data of the last four stanzas, which has identified this poem and given to the "bucolic temptation" that prominence in the popular esteem which it had long occupied in the minds of poets.

In many ways the triumph of the Elizabethans was the fragmentation of the formula of emotion into two elements—the syntactical essence (upon which, devoid of all but the most formal "chain of events," they based their lyrics) and the documentation of feeling and its analysis (which they reserved for more strictly dramatic writing). We have only to compare "The passionate Sheepheard" to the following passage from *The Jew of Malta* (line 1806) to see how much denser emotionally and intellectually the writing for the Elizabethan stage was expected to be:

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, "The mind cannot desire anything but woods, and rivers flowing with soft murmurs, and the shepherd soothing his flock with rustic songs."

¹¹ *Works*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (Oxford, 1910), p. 550.

¹² *The Overreacher*, p. 17.

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Content, but we will leaue this paltry land,
And saile from hence to *Greece*, to louely *Greece*,
I'll be thy *Iason*, thou my golden Fleece;
Where painted Carpets o're the meads are hurl'd,
And *Bacchus* vineyards ore-spread the world:
Where Woods and Forrests goe in goodly greene
I'll be *Adonis*, thou shalt be Loues Queene.
The Meads, the Orchards, and the Primrose lanes,
Instead of Sedge and Reed, beare Sugar Canes:
Thou in these Groues, by Dis aboue,
Shalt liue with me and be my loue.¹³

This is almost as much a reversion to the primitive formula of the emotion as the lyric was a uniquely refined distillation of it. The speech has the same satirical note in it (even if it is self-parody) which Philoxenus, in his desire to ridicule Dionysius, must have sought. And the dramatic situation verges on that of the Polyphemus-Galatea myth, since it is Ithamore, the Turkish slave, who here aspires, by adopting the rhetoric of his betters, to fix the affections of the courtesan who deludes him. We cannot but admire the deft way in which this stylized classicality is woven into so unexpected a context as *The Jew of Malta*, and Mr. Levin has justly pointed out its effective role in the ironic pattern of the play as a whole.¹⁴

As we might expect, while Jonson conforms absolutely to that full documentation of the emotional formula in dramatic terms which we have claimed to be characteristic of Elizabethan playwrights, he shows less boldness of adaptation than Marlowe in working the Polyphemus-Galatea relationship into *The Sad Shepherd* (ii, 2). There is exactly the harsh accuracy of Theocritus in such lines as:

Yee kind to others, but yee coy to mee,
Deft Mistris! whiter then the cheese, new prest!
Smoother then creame! and softer then the curds!
Why start yee from mee, ere yee heare me tell
My wooing errand; and what rents I have?
Large heards, and pastures! Swine, and Kie, mine owne!
And though my na'se be camus'd, my lipps thick,
And my chin bristled! Pan, great Pan, was such!¹⁵

The vocabulary, packed with rusticisms as the speech develops, insists on the crudeness of the wooer. The girls in his presence are distressed by his gross body and personality. This passage has less of the amusing virtuosity of Marlowe, and shows that painstaking but successful ac-

¹³ *Works*, p. 289.

¹⁴ *The Overreacher*, p. 68.

¹⁵ *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford et al. (Oxford, 1941), II, 28.

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climatization of classical formula to the English environment which is the distinction of so many of Jonson's lyrics (see his "Kiss me, sweet: . . ." for a perfect epitome of this technique). There is an authenticity of detail which gives what might be called "truth" to the feeling by providing precise sensory correlatives for the characteristic shades of the speaker's emotion.

This formula, as we have in general seen it so far, communicates the total situation by means of a monologue. The various defining factors of the situation are established by the speaker himself. In a sense there is inevitability in the lack of a reply—if the speech has been handled effectively, we feel inescapably that the plea must simply tail off into a silence of which the cause may be as well lack of a hearer as her contemptuous indifference. Galatea is conspicuous by her absence from the relationship. But with Marlowe's lyric, at least, this self-explanatory quality of the lover—his frustrated awkwardness—is lacking. There are no grounds for feeling that the passionate shepherd may not convince his hearer, whoever she may be. The gesture, or the emotion communicated by this lyric, though it shares a common intention and setting with the Polyphemus-Galatea theme, is quite lacking in the detailed and conclusive characterization of the more elaborate formula. Dramatically speaking, the lyric is incomplete and invites the final definition that earlier poets automatically gave it.

It is not surprising therefore to come upon Raleigh's well-known "The Nymphs reply to the Shepherd," for this poem not only completes the dramatic pattern but illustrates at a comparatively early date the convenience of formulating a "development" of an earlier lyric in the exact pattern of its predecessor, so that one may combine the advantage of a familiar musical setting with the novelty of an original and even contradictory sentiment. A further advantage in such a proceeding, during an age of courtly amateur poetry, was that, since the new lyrical structure reduced the "formula" of passion to its most elementary outline, to reverse or "improve" the sentiment one had only to (and could only) boldly modify one or two details. Anything more radical would so change the small stock of defining data as to disrupt all sense of continuity. Raleigh fulfills the various requirements of such an "answer poem" with considerable mastery and his poem is indeed "the truest counterpart"¹⁶ of Marlowe's. Though his verses do little more than repeat the sentiments of Marlowe's shepherd in a negative form, one has no immediate impression of slavish mimicry:

¹⁶ H. Levin, *The Overreacher*, p. 154.

POLYPHEMUS IN ENGLAND

If all the world and loue were young,
And truth in euery Shepheards tongue,
These pretty pleasures might me moue,
To liue with thee, and be thy loue.

Time driues the flocks from field to fold,
When Rivers rage, and Rocks grow cold,
And Philomell becommeth dombe,
The rest complains of care to come...¹⁷

It is only by setting this neat little poem against the work of a more professionally thorough poet that we distinguish the simplicity of the reversed mirror image, which is the best that Raleigh's casual dexterity can achieve. For Donne's "The Baite" makes an interesting contrast both with the Marlowe "original" and Raleigh's revised formula. Donne follows Raleigh's lead in the deft mimicry of a recognized pattern; but, though Donne's poem is less immediately striking than the polished simplicity of the two earlier versions of the formula, it is almost as novel in effect as Marlowe's and much more genuinely creative in its use of the "situation" than Raleigh's. It is characteristic of Donne that the marshaling of the familiar terms of a convention form only a preliminary to an unexpected expedition in quite new directions:

Come live with mee, and bee my love,
And we will some new pleasures prove
Of golden sands and christal brookes,
With silken lines, and silver hookes.
There will the river whispering runne
Warm'd by thy eyes, more then the Sunne...

Having thus introduced a note of only half-serious hyperbole, in a neo-Petrarchan style, Donne concentrates exclusively on developing this theme of nature's subjection to the mistress. It is amusing to see how he mocks the gloomy rural routine which his mistress alone can civilize:

Let others freeze with angling reeds,
And cut their legges, with shells and weeds,
Or treacherously poore fish beset,
With strangling snare, or windowie net...

This glimpse of a pastoral life as something other than the picturesque conventional frame is indeed true to the old Polyphemus-Galatea formula, but the intention in introducing the piscatorial motifs is flattery, not definition of emotion in any dramatic sense. Donne here invites comparison, surprisingly enough, with Virgil—since both poets show a basic indifference to those precise, vivifying details of the theme which traditionally have contributed to the formation of an effective

¹⁷ *Poems*, ed. A. M. C. Latham (London, 1951), p. 16.

"objective correlative" to a highly individualized feeling. And by this high-handed treatment both poets show emphatically that they are less interested in the communication and refinement of emotional expression than in the display of that professional skill or virtuosity of which they are both in different ways past masters. We may thus conclude that often the more radically a poet interferes with a carefully formulated pattern of images the less he is interested in feeling and its dramatic communication. Significant developments in the conception of an emotion usually lie in careful local adjustments and many refining touches of detail and style, not in bold dislocations. This we notice, for example, very frequently in Shakespeare's discreet but nonetheless crucial development of his sources.

It is probably clear that, though I think "The Baite" a clever and, for Donne, an unusually charming poem, surpassing many of the earlier treatments of the theme, yet it seems to me also to herald a decline in the poetic capacity to exploit a traditional group of images and events as the medium for an emotion. The same poem reveals the transfer of such traditional poetic stock in trade as is afforded by the theme which we are examining to another type of intention, which finds the dramatic presentation of feeling secondary to the communication of a sense of triumphant intellectual discipline, be it on the aesthetic plane of controlled effect (as in the verse of Herbert or Marvell) or on the logical plane of ratiocinative virtuosity (as in almost any Stuart poet). With this general tendency in mind, I shall conclude this study by briefly documenting the decline and ultimate extinction of the particular vehicle for emotion whose course we have rapidly pursued to Caroline times. This disintegration of classicality, which is synonymous with the unique quality of Caroline verse, applies to almost every motif with which the student of classical models is familiar, and the history of this particular theme will serve as the type of the fate of many other such patterns about this time.

It is only when we keep in mind their indifference to emotional overtones that the style of the Caroline lyricists becomes at all generally intelligible. There is no longer a desire to document feeling convincingly, but rather a playful eagerness to exploit the technical possibilities of poetic traditions. It is this which explains Cotton's "An Invitation to Phyllis," which is indeed "gold to airy thinness beat" since it expands Donne's "The Baite" to rival the slight but stylish moldings of Virgil's Second Eclogue:

Thy beauteous limbs the brook shall grace,
Like the reflex of Cynthia's face,
Whilst all the wond'ring fry do greet

POLYPHEMUS IN ENGLAND

The welcome light, adore thy feet,
Supposing Venus to be come
To send a kiss to Thetis' home.¹⁸

A similar move away from that sharply defined rusticity, which was the true heritage of the Polyphemus-Galatea plea, appears in a poem in *The Marrow of Compliments* ("Sit thee down in this Arbour (sweet) . . ."). The mistress is assured that "If thou canst love a country Swain," then she shall have

Clio, Erato, Melpomene,
Euterpe, Thalia, and Calliope
Terpsychore, Vrania the sweet,
Poly-hymnia singing at thy feet;
These shall grace thee on this plain . . .¹⁹

—a rather more sophisticated band than the average shepherd could muster for his sweetheart's entertainment. Certainly here again we are back on Virgil's shaven lawn, a lawn perhaps now, however, backed by a Palladian country house. This shepherd is of the kind to adorn the farm of Marie-Antoinette, and Cotton elsewhere actually anticipates this pleasant affectation of the following century by more or less consciously standing the theme on its head, in his "The entertainment to Phyllis" ("Now Phoebus is gone down to sleep . . ."). The elegance which Renaissance wits conferred on the once humble plea of the Cyclops makes his offerings now worthy of his superior's emulation. Cotton offers his lady

Carpets where flowers woven grow,
Only thy sweeter steps to strew,
Such as may emulation bring
To the wrought mantle of the Spring.²⁰

And one can hardly feel the poet is being anything but playful when we find that the

Vessels of the true antique mould,
Cups cut in amber, myrrh and gold

which the lover has thoughtfully provided will be filled with milk from the dun cow or just plain water.

Against such a background we can estimate Herrick's luscious rusticisms for what they are worth, in "To Phillis to love, and live with him" ("Live, live with me, and thou shalt see . . ."). Despite the lux-

¹⁸ *Poems*, ed. J. Beresford (London, 1923), p. 98.

¹⁹ *The Marrow of Compliments* (London, 1655), p. 18.

²⁰ *Poems*, ed. J. Beresford (London, 1923), p. 101.

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uriance of Herrick's style, the countryside appears less naively exotic than charmingly quaint and artificial:

In Wicker-baskets Maids shall bring
To thee, (my dearest Shephardling)
The blushing Apple, bashfull Peare,
And shame-fac't Plum, (all simp'ring there).²¹

Though Mr. Levin observes that Herrick "welcomed the occasion to revel in those rustic amenities which he obviously enjoyed much more than Marlowe,"²² we sense in this poem little less than in those of the other poets a withdrawal of the spirit of the countryside from the metropolis, and from the hearthstone even of the country house and vicarage. The natural man whom Polyphemus uncouthly but vividly represented becomes a myth cheerfully manipulated for, and even acted by, the well-bred man who was shortly to find nature wholly accommodating to the manners of the English court.

It is natural, therefore, that the last effective function of the theme, in English poetry at least, was as a transparent fiction by means of which the poet comments with genuine virility on the trivial affectations of his time. It is from the pen of Townshend²³ that the pattern thus recovers some of its ancient firmness—a poet whose lines have very much the reverse effect of that “faint, pleasing tinkle” which T. S. Eliot rather surprisingly ascribed to them:

Come not to me for scarfs, nor plumes,
Nor from the needy look for gould;
Incense we have, but noe perfumes,
Nor noe such fleece in all our fold,
As Jason wonn,
But wool home spun
To keepe us from the winters cold . . .

Our roofes are low, our cabins small,
Our loues as well as loaves, are browne,
Yet soe contented there withall,
Wee seeke no finer in the towne...

There is even a trace of grandeur :

A mountaine toppes shalbe thy throne,
Thy Percian carpetts flowry feildes...

(an amusing reversal of Cotton's effect when writing ostensibly about

²¹ *Works*, ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford, 1956), p. 192.

²² *The Overreacher*, p. 153.

²³ *Poems*, ed. E. K. Chambers (London, 1912), p. 21.

the same theme). But if stern, and even almost noble in tone, this poem is very much the cultured advocate's plea, in contrast with the original vivid simplicity of Polyphemus. The traditional effects find their place, but the delight in the purely dramatic communication of feeling is gone. The poem derives its strength not from character but from the stern exposition of a moral (almost a puritan) view of life censuring courtly prodigality under the guise of praising rural simplicities. It is, if you like, an early glimpse of the censure Rousseau passed on sophisticated society by praising nature.

There is, however, one further poem of the Caroline tradition which does for an instant vivify the pattern and seem to hint at a genuinely dramatic situation. A member of what might be called "the fugitive aristocracy" which withdraws from the courts in every age proposes an authentic retirement into the countryside in a poem in the Pembroke and Ruddier collection:

Dear leave thy home and come with me
That scorn the world for love of thee:
Here we will live within this park,
A court of joy and pleasure's Ark.

Here we will hunt, here we will range...
Here we will walk upon the lawns,
And see the tripping of the fawns;
And all the deer shall wait on thee,
Thou shalt command both them and me.²⁴

There is a convincing evocation of urban nostalgia for the countryside in this little poem. However, in view of the contrasting authenticity of the crude peasant who was once the hero of the episode, it seems bizarre that the tempter is now a courtly gentleman, aware that rustic simplicities are the best temptations for a jaded palate.

How conventional this kind of redeployment of the argument became can be seen at the end of the century in *The Way of the World*. As a last evasion of reality, Lady Wishfort is made to exclaim to her false friend Mrs. Marwood: "Well friend, you are enough to reconcile me to a bad world, or else I would retire to deserts and solitudes; and feed harmless sheep by groves and purling streams. Dear Marwood, let us leave the world, and retire by ourselves and be shepherdesses."²⁵ From an uncouth rustic Polyphemus has turned, with wild improbability, into a ridiculous old court lady. The theme returns to where it began, court satire, but Congreve attacks the opposite of Philoxenus, affectation

²⁴ W. Herbert, Earle of Pembroke (and B. Ruddier), *Poems* (London, 1660), p. 38.

²⁵ *Restoration Plays*, Modern Library ed. (New York, 1953), p. 582.

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instead of barbarism. Let us leave the history of the theme with this prose parody.

What we have seen then, in the Renaissance use and abuse of the theme, is a tendency to manipulate it with progressively greater ruthlessness to ends quite other than that which it first served, that is, the dramatic presentation of an unsympathetically accurate vision of rustic bliss. This manipulation, by its radical dislocation of the traditional structure, equally dislocated the immediacy of the feelings communicated. The Renaissance is the point at which European literature finally passed beyond the classical traditions which it so much admired, having exhausted by relentless experiment almost all their potentialities as vehicles for feeling. There is something of the restless ingenuity of the scholastic philosophers of the Middle Ages in the virtuosity of English seventeenth-century lyric poets, and their verse is naturally intellectual in impact. To replace the now sterilized and brittle conventions of classical origin, new amatory formulae would have to be created if an interest in the evocation of earnest emotion was to be renewed. However, a century was to pass before the modes of dramatic emotion were effectively redefined by the romantic love poets.

It is not my intention in this paper to lament either this Renaissance outdistancing of classical traditions, or the diversion of interest from evocation of emotion to its analysis, but to illustrate how our method of study exactly establishes what changes of attitude occur during the time that the theme is particularly popular. There is perhaps no surer method of documenting changes in literary taste than the discussion of the metamorphoses of such a distinctive theme as that which we have examined. Minute but crucial changes of style and intention, as well as major dislocations which are often less significant, can be detected without arbitrary conjunctions and to this extent the analysis of such set patterns is useful to students of comparative literature, though most surveys of Renaissance reworkings of classicalities will show distortions and attenuations such as we have just seen.

University of California, Berkeley

Alexander Pushkin's View of Goethe

THE PROBLEM of Alexander Pushkin's approach to Goethe, and the degree and nature of his dependence on Goethe for themes and inspiration, has been and continues to be debated by Russian literary scholars, and has not been altogether neglected by scholars in the West.¹ Non-Russian contributions, however, tend to slight the rich biographical materials which Russian research on Pushkin has made available, and do not pay sufficient attention to the general cultural background against which Pushkin's attitude toward the German poet must be viewed for proper perspective.

As a boy and impressionable youth, Pushkin moved in a cultural environment that was, by and large, indifferent if not actually hostile to German art and letters and, in particular, to literary products from the pens of the Sturm und Drang authors which were just then beginning to reach the Russian public. A vivid picture of this prevailing attitude in the circles in which Pushkin's family played a prominent role

¹ The extreme positions in the debate are represented by V. A. Rosov (*Pushkin i Grete*, Kiev, 1908), who argues rather loosely that Pushkin turned to Goethe not only for inspiration but also for a great number of specific themes, and by A. Veselovski ("A. S. Pushkin i evropeiskaia poesiia," *Zin'*, 1899, No. 5), who flatly states: "The German lyrical element [and he singles out Goethe] was utterly alien to Pushkin even in his early school days and failed to find favor with him after conscious contact with it in his mature years" (p. 15). More recent scholarship tends to side with Veselovski. See, e.g., M. Gorlin, "Goethe in Russland," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, IX and X (1925-26); V. Zhirmunski, *Gete v russkoi literature* (Leningrad, 1937), pp. 133-134; M. Karpovich, *Centennial Essays for Pushkin* (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 185-186. Fritz Strich in *Goethe und die Weltliteratur* (Bern, 1946), pp. 340 f., echoes Otto Harnack's *Essays and Studien zur Literaturgeschichte* (Braunschweig, 1889), and overestimates Goethe's influence on Pushkin.

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is provided in the memoirs of a certain Filipp Fillipovich Vigel,² a rabid Germanophile amidst a predominantly pro-French Saint Petersburg society.

Vigel has little patience with his Russian compatriots in their ignorance of and indifference to the recent flowering of German literature, especially the drama. He takes them severely to task for failing to avail themselves of the rich offerings provided by the German Theater of Saint Petersburg. "Here was all this rich output," he exclaims, "of the young German dramatists being performed on our own stage, under our very noses, yet not one of us would make the efforts to avail himself of all this wealth, to acquaint himself with the great works of the genius of a Lessing, a Schiller, a Goethe."³ He accuses his fellow citizens of cowardly subservience to the ruling tastes: "Who would have dared," he asks, "in 'Good Society' to step forward as the champion of German literature, of the German drama? Not a one!" His special ire is aroused by the German immigrants who had adopted with such dispatch and emphasis the pro-French tastes of their host country: "Why, those young Germans, they—one and all—the Palens, the Benckendorffs, the Schöppings, these darlings of Russian High Society, they all had suddenly developed sympathies and tastes more strongly pro-French than our own . . ." He points up sharply the backwardness of Russian taste compared to the forward-looking attitudes of the Germans in matters of the theater: "Slavishly following the French example, we dared not break with Aristotle's law of the three unities, while in their creative pride the Germans had long since cast off this chain. The French, our guardians and guides, have taught us to see in the Germans nothing but ridiculous figures and we continue to be willing and even eager slaves to their tastes, opinions, whims . . ."

Vigel then gives a detailed account of the specific characteristic of the modern German plays that met with the disapproval and derision of the Russian audiences. "Bursts of derisive laughter," he tells us, "greeted the hero who—a youth in the first act—would, in the last, grope his way upon the stage, a man suddenly grown senile." The excessive number of *dramatis personae*, the rapid shifts of scene, "the very names of these German plays were certain to arouse mirth and consternation: *Minna von Barnhelm!*, *Gotz von Berlichingen!*, *Doktor*

² Vigel was one of the most Germanophile members of the Arzamas, a literary group presided over by N. M. Karamzin; he was, moreover, an active supporter of the German Theater in Saint Petersburg and a voracious reader of German literature, especially of Schiller; he earned among his fellow Arzamasians the nickname, "Crane of Ibisus."

³ *Zapiski* (Leningrad, 1928), I, 327 ff.

Faustus!, what grotesque oddities! And who ever heard of a Mephisto, the Devil incarnate, loosed upon the stage? One could just as well have ushered a drunken shoemaker into the drawing room of a nobleman!" All this, Vigel assures us, "appeared to Petersburg society in the worst of taste, an unpardonable, revolting breach of etiquette." He, Vigel, would not forget, as long as he lived, hearing "Sergej Pushkin, Alexander Pushkin's venerable sire, categorically announce that he, Count Pushkin, would continue to prefer Molière to Goethe, and Racine to Schiller, unafraid of the wrath of the newfangled Romanticists and in the teeth of Schlegel [August Wilhelm?] himself."⁴

Such was the prevailing literary taste that surrounded Pushkin at home and in the social circles in which he moved as an impressionable boy. The language spoken in the Pushkin household was French.⁵ Such German fragments as are scattered through Pushkin's writings tend to confirm the generally held theory that Pushkin never mastered that language.⁶ The German originals of Goethe remained largely closed to him. The records of his library contain no Goethe titles in German and indicate that his reading of Goethe must have been largely if not exclusively in the few Russian translations then available (*Clavigo*, *Werther*, *Götz*, *Egmont*, and a sampling of the lyrics) and in the more numerous French versions. Information on Goethe's personality and life and on the enormous range of his interests and achievements he seems to have derived from sources popular at the time—Mme de Staël's world-famous *De l'Allemagne* and Russian periodicals which echoed French views on German life and letters.⁷

⁴ For a brief mention of Vigel see R. Jagodich, "Goethe und seine russischen Zeitgenossen," *Germanoslavica*, II (1933), 370.

⁵ A. Luther states categorically in the introduction to his edition of Pushkin's *Werke*, I (Leipzig, n.d.), p. 9: "In der Familie [Pushkin's] wurde nur französisch gesprochen, und so war es kein Wunder, daß auch die ersten dichterischen Versuche des achtjährigen Puschkin in dieser Sprache verfaßt wurden."

⁶ Cf. the stilted German phrases assigned to the character of V. Rosen in *Boris Godunov* with the idiomatic French spoken by Marsheret in the same scene of the same play. *Russkie Klassiki* (New York, n.d.), p. 217. It is true that Pushkin collaborated with E. I. Huber on a translation of the first part of Goethe's *Faust*, yet Pushkin's marginalia furnish no positive proof of his mastery of German, since they deal with Russian idiomatic rephrasing of Huber's Russian version. There has also turned up among Zhukovski's papers a translation by Pushkin of Werther's letter to Lotte, a much-translated piece of Wertheriana, which, however, again fails to establish Pushkin's knowledge of German, being very free and probably based on French or even on Russian versions.

⁷ See B. L. Modzalevski, *Bibliotheka Pushkina* (Saint Petersburg, 1910), *passim*. For a typical example of uncritical borrowing in Russian periodicals from the French source, see *Sorokovatel'*, Part XXIII (Moscow, 1823). Here an anonymous Russian critic writing on "Romantic Literature" admits frankly his total indebtedness to Mme de Staël. Her interpretation of the "artistic elements in

Not until 1825, the year Pushkin came under the influence of the "Lovers of Wisdom," the Liubomudry, as this group of young Russian romanticists and ardent admirers of German culture called themselves, did the Russian poet's attitude toward Goethe take a discernible form. Even then it remained singularly ambivalent. Pushkin found words of praise for the "German Patriarch," that "Giant of Romantic Poetry," yet he refused to follow Zhukovski, Venevitinov, Shevyrev, and others of his friends in a thorough study of Goethe's works; he would not plunge with them into "that vast German ocean."⁸ On the other hand, it cannot be said that Pushkin remained altogether indifferent toward the Liubomudry's efforts to bring to the Russian public a deeper understanding of the works of the German author. Thus we find him joining in the jubilations of the group occasioned by Goethe's high praise of Shevyrev's perceptive study of the Helena scene, which had been published in the group's pro-German periodical, the *Moscow Messenger* (*Moskovski Vestnik*).⁹ "Honor and fame to our Shevyrev!" Pushkin writes to A. P. Pogodin, the editor of the journal, "You did well in publishing the letter of our patriarch in Germany."¹⁰ Having sounded this note of approval, Pushkin was silent on Goethe in the pages of the *Messenger*, though he continued to be a fairly active contributor to the journal. Nor was he one of the large group of Russian writers who made the all but obligatory pilgrimage to Weimar. The foremost Russian poet never made the personal acquaintance of the greatest German.¹¹

Against this biographical background, which is so clearly lacking in firsthand, active contacts with German culture and the world of Goethe, it is rather surprising to find as many references to the German writer as we have actually been able to locate in the now available Pushkin materials.¹² Though these references fail to indicate an extensive or intensive knowledge of Goethe's work, they do present clear evidence of Pushkin's gradually increasing interest and admira-

German literature is of such perfection as to leave nothing to be desired and is thus the best possible." Therefore he "merely translates her words into his own native tongue" (p. 227). On this problem see I. I. Zamotin, *Romanticism dvat-sat'kh godov XIX ogo stoletia v russkoj literature* (Moscow, n.d.), I, 90 ff.

⁸ A. N. Veselovski, *V. A. Zhukovski* (Saint Petersburg, 1904), p. 11.

⁹ *Moskovski Vestnik*, XI (Moscow, 1828). See also *Weimar Ausgabe, Briefe*, XLIV, 78 f.

¹⁰ Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

¹¹ The theory, launched by Harnack, that Goethe had sent a pen (eine Schreibfeder) to Pushkin as a tangible token of his affection and esteem has been recently subjected to searching criticism by Maximilian von Proper in "Goethe und Puschkin—Wahrheit und Legende," *Goethe*, XII (1950), 218-259.

¹² Especially A. S. Pushkin, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineni* (Leningrad, 1934).

tion. The comments grow in frequency and perceptiveness after the year 1826 and center chiefly on *Faust* and *Götz von Berlichingen*.¹³

Pushkin approached Goethe's *Faust*, significantly, by way of a comparison with Byron's *Manfred* and *Childe Harold*. His youthful enthusiasm for Byron was tempered by his contact with Goethe's genius—which raises the intriguing question of what Pushkin's attitude might have become had not his untimely death (1837) cut short this trend in his reorientation. In an article on P. A. Katenin, he compared Byron's imitation of Goethe's *Faust* with Zhukovski's imitation of Bürger's *Lenore* and concluded that both imitators "devitalized the spirit and the form of the originals."¹⁴ And again in his *Notes from the Years 1834-35* Pushkin emphasized Byron's inability to cope with Goethe's genius: "Goethe had a great influence on Byron," he wrote. "*Faust* continued to trouble the imagination of Childe Harold. Twice Byron wrestled with this titan of Romantic literature—and both times came away lame like Jacob."¹⁵

Pushkin "stands in awe before Goethe's masterpiece, his *Faust*,"¹⁶ to him this work is "the mightiest creation of the 18th century [!]." It serves as a guiding beacon for modern times precisely as the *Iliad* towers eternally as the most splendid monument of antiquity.¹⁷ In creating this monumental work, Goethe was inspired by "that highest form of audacity of inventiveness, of creativity; here a truly bold, creative spirit has encompassed a vast design and brought it to fruition." "Such audacity," Pushkin exclaims, "is Shakespeare's, is Dante's, is Goethe's in his *Faust* and Molière's in his *Tartuffe*."¹⁸ He even dares compare Goethe with the Holy Ghost to the distinct advantage of the former. He admits that, as he reads the venerable Book of Books, the Holy Ghost is, at times, after his own heart, but—and we can sense the consternation of the faithful—"I really do prefer in general my Goethe and my Shakespeare,"¹⁹ an apostasy which is known to have contributed

¹³ There is little biographical or textual evidence in support of Matl's view that "around 1828 there began an estrangement and liberation [of Pushkin] from the Goethean-Faustian ideal [Lebensideal] and a turning toward tradition, the Bible, Christianity, and the idea of the inescapable necessity of belief for a moral life." J. Matl, "Goethe bei den Slaven," *Jahrbuch für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, Neue Folge, VIII (1932), 49 f.

¹⁴ Pushkin, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineni*, V, 105.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 345.

¹⁶ *Sochinenia Pushkina*, ed. Akademia Nauk (Leningrad, n.d.), IX, Book I, p. 210.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Book II, p. 27.

¹⁸ Pushkin, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineni*, VI, 22.

¹⁹ Pushkin, *Pis'ma*, ed. Modzhalevski (Moscow, n.d.), I, 74. On Pushkin's "exile" in its connection with this passage see also Fritz Strich, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

not a little to Pushkin's exile from Saint Petersburg to Michaelovskoe.

Goethe's *Götz* receives somewhat briefer and less enthusiastic mention, mainly in connection with Pushkin's discussion of the nature of historical drama and, of course, specifically of his own *Boris Godunov*. *Götz von Berlichingen*, and by implication Goethe's *Egmont*, earn for the German poet the singular honor of being coupled with Shakespeare as the "creator of the historical drama."²⁰ In a letter to his friend, N. Raevski, Pushkin credits Shakespeare with having seized upon the passions of historical figures, while Goethe excelled in recapturing the general atmosphere, the "costume" of bygone epochs: "Shakespeare a saisi les passions, Goethe le costume."²¹

It is as the great realist, the "objective" genius, that Goethe gradually displaces Byron as an inspiration and guide. With growing maturity Pushkin comes to appreciate ever more fully Goethe's all-encompassing view of life, to admire his sharp eye for the "details of reality." He praises Goethe's bold break with "servile predilection for kings and nobles," typical of French pseudoclassical drama, and his introduction of lowly and humble lives on a level with the heroic and grand. "Schiller, Goethe and Walter Scott do not share [with the French school] that servile predilection for kings and nobles. They [i.e., the characters of these three writers] do not resemble the serfs aping la dignité et la noblesse . . ."; slipping into French as is Pushkin's habit, he continues, "Ils [this time the writers] sont familiers [*sic*] dans les circonstances ordinaires de la vie; leur parole n'a rien d'affecté, de théâtre même dans les circonstances solennelles—car les grandes circonstances leur sont familières."²²

Though these biographical links between Pushkin and Goethe are none too plentiful, they have sent scholars in search of Goethean themes in Pushkin's works. But most of the instances of "borrowing" prove, upon close scrutiny, rather far-fetched or, at any rate, insufficiently incisive to shed light on our central problem, Pushkin's view of Goethe. To choose but two:

How substantial is Berkov's claim²³ that Tatjana's rejection of Onegin (*Evgeni Onegin*, Book VIII, Part 47) is patterned after Lotte's rejection of Werther ("Nur einen Augenblick ruhigen Sinn Werther . . .")? To be sure, Tatjana's words echo those of Lotte, yet

²⁰ Pushkin, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineni*, IX, 68.

²¹ Pushkin, *Sochinenia* (Saint Petersburg, 1915), VI, 3.

²² *Sochinenia Pushkina*, IX, Book II, p. 929.

²³ P. N. Berkov, "Werther in Puschkins *Eugen Onegin*," *Germanoslavica*, II (1933), 72 ff.

PUSHKIN'S VIEW OF GOETHE

this similarity only serves to underscore the totally different situation in which they are spoken. Tatjana had loved Onegin, her love had been rejected coldly, almost cynically, by the "lover"; she had then married another and now rejects Onegin in her turn, not without a wistful glance at a happiness that had been "so possible, so near!" (p. 166)²⁴ and now is lost forever. "My fate is sealed . . .," she says to the stunned, unbelieving Onegin who had been so supremely confident of victory over Tatjana's tender heart. The distance between this scene and that in Goethe's *Werther* is obvious. Granted the similarity in the words spoken by Tatjana and by Lotte, granted too that among Tatjana's favorite heroes we find Werther "the rebellious martyr" (p. 127), granted finally that Lenski's soul is all aflame with the "poetic fire" of Schiller and of Goethe (p. 121), these scattered similarities prove only Pushkin's undoubted acquaintance with the German poet's famous work. But they do not shed any light on Pushkin's attitude toward Goethe.

Again, how tenable is Bem's claim that Hermann, the hero of *Pique Dame*, is the "first Russian Faust" and that "Lisaveta's love affair is the Russian staging (postanovka) of Gretchen's tragedy"?²⁵ Tomski, Hermann's boon companion, does ascribe to Hermann "the profile of Napoleon and the soul of Mephisto" (p. 431) and Lisaveta is struck by Hermann's likeness to a "portrait of Napoleon" (p. 432), that is, of the man in whom Goethe—as must surely have been known to Pushkin—recognized the very personification of the demonic. Does this make of Hermann the "first Russian Faust"? Are we to see in this demonic trait a link with Goethe's hero? How can Hermann's obsessive greed for money be justifiably identified or even compared with Faust's heaven-storming quest for the ultimate encompassed in that "höchste Augenblick"? Though in the grip of a "demonic" obsession with the acquisition of wealth, Hermann's nature is that of a calculating, penny-pinching German Bürger, not to say Spießbürger, whose three cardinal virtues and most "reliable cards" are calculation, moderation, and assiduity (p. 426). Are we not dealing here rather with a daring parody of Goethe's hero?—if a relationship between the two must, at all costs, be established. Consider also Hermann's "love" for Lisaveta, that pitifully harassed and humiliated lady in waiting to a splenetic old countess. This affair has no touch of kinship with Faust's tragic love for Gretchen. To Pushkin's Hermann Lisaveta is merely a means to acquire the fortune of the old dowager. Far from being

²⁴ Page references in parentheses are to Pushkin, *Sochinenia* (New York, n.d.).

²⁵ A. Bem, "Faust v tvorchestve Pushkina," *Slavia* (Prague, 1934), XIII, 378 ff.

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Goethe's "sinnlich-übersinnlicher Freier," Hermann is a coldly calculating, conscienceless intriguer (p. 428: "vozratilsia domoi, ochen' zaniatyï svoei intrigoï"). And Lisaveta, though thrilled in her lonely, loveless life by the sudden attentions of the mysterious youth, is quickly disenchanted and, far from suffering a tragic end, promptly forgets the imposter to enter upon a bourgeois marriage and, by obvious implication, to live happily ever after—a very different lot from Gretchen's derangement and violent death. Again, this is at most, if anything, a parody of Goethe's immortal creation.

One could with far greater justification claim a parallel in Goethe's dungeon scene from *Faust I* and the closing scene of Pushkin's epic poem *Poltava*. Here Mazepa, having abducted Maria, the daughter of Kochubei, his onetime friend, and having treacherously caused Kochubei's execution, is fleeing the wrath of Peter the Great. Not far from Kochubei's homestead, Mazepa, utterly exhausted, is sinking into troubled sleep when he is suddenly startled awake by the voice of Maria. The shock of her father's violent death and of Mazepa's treachery have deranged the girl's mind. Like Gretchen she is reeling, helpless, between past and present; she pleads with her lover to flee with her, and then—recognizing in him her father's bloodstained murderer—recoils in horror before his "derisive and terrifying gaze" (p. 89: tvoï vzor nasmeshliv i oozhassen), his "bloodencrusted mustache" (na tvoich oosakh zasokhla krov). Here, indeed, we find more than a semblance of Goethe's famous scene, hear a clear echo of Gretchen's distraught voice. And yet even this case (like so many others) might well be a case of fortuitous parallelism and coincidence.

Investigations of this type seem unlikely to result in an incisive grasp of Pushkin's relationship to Goethe. A different approach is called for and is happily suggested by Pushkin himself in connection with a central experience in his life, a true Urerlebnis:

In the best years of our life, not chilled as yet by life's contradictions, our heart is receptive to the beautiful. It is credulous, tender. Gradually the eternal contradictions of existence give birth to doubts, a tormenting experience yet one of short duration. Soon the mood passes, but not before it has corroded the very best and most creative stirrings in our soul.²⁶

This passage furnishes the key to Pushkin's characteristic approach to Goethe's work. Upon contact with *Faust*, Pushkin at once recognized in Mephisto the very incarnation of "the eternal contradictions of existence" that corrode "the very best and most creative stirrings in

²⁶ A. S. Pushkin, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineni*, ed. G. Oksman and M. A. Cjamlovski (Moscow, 1935 ff.), IX, 56 f.

our soul." He seized upon this figure as a fertile source of inspiration. We have seen how a Mephistophelian trait was woven into the character of Hermann; the "corrosive" spirit of Mephisto is easily recognizable in Onegin. But it is in Pushkin's poem "The Demon" (p. 287) that Mephisto makes his most striking reappearance. Here Pushkin sought to give artistic expression "to the life-killing skepticism . . . which corrodes the very best and most creative stirrings in our soul . . . and is the evil demon of our age." Paraphrasing Goethe, he supplies convincing evidence of a significant thematic interplay between his Demon and Goethe's "Geist, der stets verneint." "For the very best of reasons the great Goethe called the *spirit of negation* the eternal enemy of mankind." Pushkin continues with the question: ". . . and did not Pushkin seek to personify in his 'Demon' that very spirit of negation and of doubt and to render a vivid representation of his destructive influence upon the spiritual climate [nравstvennost'] of our age?"²⁷ Here, indeed, we seem entitled to the claim of influence by Goethe upon Pushkin, a case of borrowing clearly illustrative of Pushkin's manner of appropriating from Goethe's work elements which could assist him in bodying forth certain central experiences and in realizing his poetic visions.

This type of creative adaptation is exemplified on an ampler scale in Pushkin's *Scene from Faust*, which he wrote while in close contact with the Liubomudry.²⁸ Venevitinov, a member of the group, had just translated part of the "Wald und Höhle" scene. The fragment undoubtedly impressed Pushkin and may well have inspired him to compose the *Scene*. There is, in fact, a certain superficial resemblance in the plot. Mephisto and Faust discuss Gretchen's fate, Faust reminisces on the raptures of love and is answered with cynical sarcasm by Mephisto. But the locale, the seashore, is sharply different and—more significant—Pushkin's Faust has already wrought the ruin of Gretchen and is looking back to a happiness forever lost and forward to a life of utter boredom, devoid of all hope and ideals.²⁹

The spirit of negation and of doubt has definitely ended all idealistic striving in this Faust. In sharpest contrast to Goethe's hero, Pushkin's

²⁷ P. V. Annenkov, *A. S. Pushkin v Aleksandrovskaï Epokhi* (Moscow, 1874), p. 153.

²⁸ The *Scene* first appeared in the *Moskovski Vestnik*, IX (1826) under its original title, "A New Scene between Faust and Mephisto." For a summary of all the Russian reviews and often very far-fetched interpretations, see J. Legras, "Pouchkine et Goethe, la 'Scène tirée de Faust.'" *RLC*, XVII (1937), 117-128. Legras comes to the obvious conclusion that Pushkin, despite his lack of knowledge of German, must have had a general knowledge of Goethe's *Faust*.

²⁹ A. Bem, *loc. cit.*, tends to exaggerate Pushkin's dependence on the "Wald und Höhle" scene and neglects to give due stress to the salient differences. These

lacks completely the questing spirit, that capacity of self-rejuvenation in mystical contact with nature's revitalizing forces possessed to such a remarkable degree by his German prototype. This Russian Faust is far more Mephisto's Doppelgänger than his idealistic antagonist. He is the victim of an all-pervasive boredom, a mood which finds its drastic expression in the very first words of the *Scene*: "Devil, I am bored" (p. 305: *mne skoochno, bes*). It is the development of this trait in Faust that represents Pushkin's most original achievement.³⁰ It may be argued that Goethe's Faust is also *ennuyiert* and that Pushkin's merely apes his model. Yet Goethe's Faust is bored only with those shallow pleasures with which Mephisto serves him. The boredom of Pushkin's Faust is all-encompassing. It springs from utter satiety and a hyperintellectualism that sicklies over every emotion and nips in the bud every stirring to creative action. This boredom seems to emanate from that hellish sphere of which Mephisto is the ruler and to enslave this Faust beyond redemption.

In focusing so sharply on this facet of the German Faust's complex nature and developing it in depth to the exclusion of all others, Pushkin may well have been assisted to some extent by Mme de Staël's interpretation of the character of Faust in her *De l'Allemagne*;³¹ he may still have felt the influence of the Byronic spleen which held such fascination for him. The primary, determining impulse for his Faust portrayal must, nonetheless, be sought in deeper layers of his nature, rooted in that personal experience of life, attacked by the spirit of negation, sinking into boredom and destructive nihilism. With this portrayal Pushkin places his Faust at the head of a long line of typically Russian heroes—his own Onegin, Lermontov's Pechorin, Turgenev's Rudin, Gontcharov's Oblomov, all those "superfluous people" whose incurable malaise is that very boredom, that ennui experienced so poignantly by Pushkin's Faust.

And, more than that, by giving artistic expression to "boredom as

had been early recognized by the Russian critic V. Belinski: "This work [the Pushkin *Scene*] . . . was certainly no translation of some excerpt from the famous dramatic poem of Goethe, no variation on a theme . . . Rather it is the development and amplification of the thought which Pushkin had previously expressed in his small poem 'The Demon,'" *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineni* (Saint Petersburg, 1900), III, p. 615. Belinski does not seem to be aware of the interconnections between the Demon and Goethe's Mephisto which we have pointed out above.

³⁰ Cf. V. Setchkarev, "Über die Langeweile bei Pushkin," *Solange Dichter leben* (Krefeld, 1949), p. 144: ". . . es [the *Scene*] ist der gelungene Versuch die Langeweile als metaphysisches Problem in größter Kürze und Deutlichkeit zu behandeln."

³¹ As has been convincingly demonstrated by John G. Frank, "Pushkin and Goethe," *Slavonic and East European Review*, XXVI (1947), 148 f.

a metaphysical problem,"³² Pushkin anticipates by several decades a line of thought that leads by way of Kierkegaard and Schopenhauer to Heidegger and Sartre's *La Nausée*. Heidegger in his *Was ist Metaphysik?* has given us a very apt definition of Faust's boredom:

Die tiefe Langeweile, in den Abgründen des Daseins wie ein schweigender Nebel hin- und herziehend, rückt alle Dinge, Menschen und einen selbst mit ihnen in eine merkwürdige Gleichgültigkeit zusammen.³³

In Pushkin's Faust this "merkwürdige Gleichgültigkeit" so characteristic of him at the beginning of the *Scene* becomes sharpened toward its end into a hate-charged disgust with life that culminates in the abrupt command to Mephisto to sink a ship, a genuine ship of fools with its grotesque cargo of 300 scoundrels, two monkeys, barrels of gold and chocolate, and venereal disease. "Drown all of it!" (p. 306: vse ootopit') are Faust's last words, which anticipate the similar command that Goethe's Faust will give to Mephisto and his minions to do away with Baucis and Philemon: "So geht und schafft sie mir zur Seite!"³⁴ There is a characteristic difference, however; Pushkin's Faust utters his command in a mood of ennui and Lebenssekel; the command of Goethe's Faust is motivated by his all-consuming eagerness to push constructive plans of colonization—a crucial difference, in keeping with Pushkin's basic transformation of Goethe's prototype.

Pushkin's Faust, his Demon, his Hermann and Onegin, all bear witness to the Russian poet's creative use of archetypes furnished him by Goethe. Yet such was the many-sidedness of Pushkin's genius that, while writing his *Scene from Faust*, he was also able to complete his historical drama *Boris Godunov* (1825), for which a very different Goethe furnished the model and the inspiration—Goethe the realist of Sturm und Drang, the masterly recreator of the atmosphere and the "costume" of past ages.

It will never be possible to establish with complete precision the nature and extent of Goethe's influence on this play, since in writing it Pushkin reached back of Goethe to a common source, Shakespeare. Thus almost every Goethean aspect of the play has, at the same time, an unmistakable Shakespearean quality about it. Shakespeare certainly influenced the sombre monumentality of *Godunov* and furnished the pattern for dying *Godunov's* last counsel to his son Fjodor (pp. 221-222; cf. *Henry the Fourth, Part 2*, IV, 4 and 5). The blank verse of the play also suggests the English model. And yet, despite its being

³² Setchkarev, *loc. cit.*

³³ Martin Heidegger, *Was ist Metaphysik?* (Bonn, 1931), p. 14.

³⁴ *Goethes Sämtliche Werke*, Jubiläums-Ausgabe, XIV, 255.

cast in verse, the dialogue of the common people in Pushkin's drama³⁵ has a completely unstylized, naturalistic quality characteristic not so much of Shakespeare as of Goethe's *Götz*.

The extreme brevity of the great majority of the scenes, with their rapid, drastic shifts in locale and theme, also point to Goethe's play as a model—the Russian author carrying the implications of the loose, typically Sturm und Drang construction to a logical conclusion by dropping all subdivision into acts. Another striking correspondence in dramatic device can be noted in Pushkin's play and Goethe's *Götz*. In "The Castle of the Voivod Mnishka in Sambor" scene (p. 211) a sequence of pairs of personae move across the stage, speak a few salient words, and are quickly replaced by the next pair, a device strongly reminiscent of the Garden scene of *Faust I*, with its alternating pairs: Mephisto-Marthe, Faust-Gretchen. To be sure, all these features of Pushkin's play—realistic dialogue, rapid shift of scenes, quick alternation of pairs of dramatis personae, as well as other more general dramatic devices—can also be found in Shakespeare.

All these specific instances corroborate the general impression that Pushkin, in writing his historical drama, kept to a middle course between his English and German models, drawing inspiration from both Shakespeare and Goethe for the new type of historical tragedy which he himself, characteristically, called "romantic."³⁶

Pushkin became acquainted, then, with a limited number of Goethe's masterpieces late in his brief life and never undertook an intensive study of them. He relied chiefly on translations and secondary sources, especially on Mme de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*. For his own creative purposes he drew on *Götz* and *Faust*. He remained cut off from Goethe's lyrics by the barrier of language; his view did not extend to Goethe's contributions in the natural sciences.³⁷ Though gradually replacing Byron,

³⁵ Especially in the scenes: Deviche pole (p. 197): Korchma na litovskoi granitse (pp. 201-202); Kreml', Dom Borissia (p. 224).

³⁶ Pushkin seems to have relied for his knowledge of Goethe's play chiefly on Mme de Staël's discussion of it in *De l'Allemagne* and on French translations; the first, by A. Stapfer, had appeared in Paris early in 1825. The first Russian translation, by Pogodin, was published in 1828, three years after Pushkin had completed his *Godunov*.

³⁷ Glebov in his article, "Pushkin i Gete," *Zvenia*, II (Moscow, 1933), 53 ff., points out that, while for Goethe human life appeared rooted in and was an integral part of the life of nature, for Pushkin it was mainly an historical phenomenon. "And if for both poets, generally speaking, the central concern was with the fullness of life here and now, their basic attitudes to life were diametrically opposite... Pushkin shows no interest whatsoever in a scientific exploration of life in the Goethean sense nor does he make any attempt to develop a philosophy of nature."

PUSHKIN'S VIEW OF GOETHE

Goethe never assumed a dominant position in Pushkin's intellectual world, yielding pre-eminence to Shakespeare and even to Walter Scott. The absence of any formal piece or heartfelt word on the occasion of Goethe's death bears out this cool, impersonal attitude toward the German writer. Goethe remained for Pushkin a distant, vaguely perceived figure, despite continued respect and growing admiration. This general impression is confirmed by the Russian scholar V. Zhirmunski:

In spite of the profound respect which Pushkin shows for the name of Goethe as for the name of one of the very great, perhaps the greatest contemporary poet, [Pushkin's] references to Goethe fail to indicate the image of the creative poet or to illuminate the message of his works. They do not indicate a close and personal relationship with the German poet.⁸⁸

Columbia University

⁸⁸ V. Zhirmunski, *Goete v russkoj literature* (Leningrad, 1937), pp. 133-134.

THOMAS L. WATSON

The French Reputation Of W. B. Yeats

IN 1954 Madeleine Gibert, in the introduction to her translation of six dramas of W. B. Yeats, generalized on the reputation of Yeats in France: "De tous les grands écrivains de notre temps, William Butler Yeats est sans doute le plus mal connu du public français."¹ She concluded her brief remarks by citing four studies as the entire bibliography of Yeats in France. The bibliography is actually much more extensive; but, in principle, her statement is quite correct. Despite his great reputation and influence in the English-speaking countries, Yeats's poetry and drama are still relatively unknown in France. While he has been what one critic has called as recently as 1950 the object of "une sorte de conspiration du silence," Professor Louis Cazamian has called him "le plus grand poète de cette génération." To what extent, then, has Yeats been translated and what is the history of his reputation in France?

Although the late-Victorian generation of English writers had for some years known and been influenced by French poets, it was not until March of 1892 that French readers were first introduced to the important new trends in English poetry. Under the editorship of Alfred Vallette, the recently revived *Mercure de France* included an article on the occasion of the appearance of a volume of poetry published by the members of the Rhymer's Club, *The Book of the Rhymer's Club*. Vallette undoubtedly felt that much of this poetry from the Rhymers closely approximated in method and tone that of the French symbolist poets and that it would, therefore, be of interest to French readers. Among the examples chosen by the *Mercure* was a short lyric of Yeats, "Une Epitaphe," a poem later retitled "A Dream of Death"; it was rendered,

¹ William Butler Yeats, *Théâtre* (Paris, 1954), p. 7.

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as were all the poems, in a French prose translation which maintained the mood and idea of the original without trying to transcribe the undulating rhythm of the lines:

Je rêvai qu'une était morte en un pays étrange—Loin de toute main accoutumée,—
Et ils avaient cloué les planches au-dessus de sa face,—Les paysans de ce pays,—
Et, émerveillés, ils avaient planté dans sa solitude—Un cyprès et un if,—Je vins
et j'écrivis sur une croix de bois—(Un homme n'avait rien de mieux à faire):
"Elle était plus belle que ton premier amour,—Cette dame qui dort sous les
arbres,"—Et je levai les yeux vers les douloureuses étoiles, là-haut—Et j'entendis
passer les brises douloureuses.²

The Pilgrim

The translation is worthy of attention. Not only was it Yeats's first appearance in a French review, but it is quite probable that "The Pilgrim" was Henry-D. Davray, a critic for the *Mercure de France* who for many years did much to represent the cause of contemporary English literature to French readers. It was to Davray that Yeats owed his next appearance in France; in the July 1896 issue of *L'Ermitage* Davray published a prose translation of an earlier poem, "The Sad Shepherd," and of a story from *The Celtic Twilight*, "The Untiring Ones."³ In the following issue of the same review Davray expanded his efforts with a critical appreciation of Yeats, together with an account of Yeats's development as a poet and of his contribution to the Irish literary movement, and called attention to the salient qualities of Yeats's verse: "De tous ces poèmes se dégage une tendance très pure et noble, un idéalisme qui est trop rare et trop délicat pour être compris par ceux que satisfont la grosse abondance, la plate réalité d'un naturalisme photographie d'obscénités. W. B. Yeats . . . oppose aux derniers efforts du précédent mouvement, son souci d'art, son culte de la Beauté, sans être arrêté par les préjugés, sans s' inquiéter des attaques et des calomnies."⁴

The evaluation is important because it sets the tone, and, generally, presages Yeats's continued reception as a poet of delicacy, rare beauty, and twilight dreams. The evidence of later French translations and critical evaluations, even of those of the last few years, indicates that Yeats is still known and preferred in France for his earlier lyric poetry.

In his capacity as editor of the section of the *Mercure* devoted to "Lettres anglaises," Davray again in 1899 reviewed Yeats's poetry,

² "Un Manifeste littéraire anglais" (anon. rev.), *Mercure de France*, IV (Mar. 1892), 200-215.

³ Henry-D. Davray, trans., "La Tristesse du berger," "Trois Légendes populaires d'Irlande," *L'Ermitage*, VII (July 1896), 25-27.

⁴ Davray, "William Butler Yeats," *L'Ermitage*, VII (Aug. 1896), 95.

this time *The Wind among the Reeds*. Of the mystical, symbolic quality of the poems he wrote, "Il est impossible d'exprimer, en quelques lignes d'appréciation, toute la mystique beauté des poèmes de Yeats . . .";⁵ and presented the essence of Yeats's poetic and philosophic theories by translating a portion of Yeats's introduction to Horton's *Book of Images*. A few months later he translated the mystical *Rosa Alchemica*. Probably on his initiative, other poems were translated in other reviews. In September 1899, in *L'Humanité Nouvelle*, appeared a translation of "The Man Who Dreamed of Fairyland" and in December three translations appeared in the same review: "The Lake Isle of Innisfree," "The Rose of the World," and "A Song."⁶

Between 1899 and 1914 Yeats published very little poetry. His appearance in the French reviews was limited to a few translations of earlier lyrics, the long narrative poem of 1889, *The Wanderings of Oisín*, a few lyrics from the Rose group of 1893, and a story from *The Celtic Twilight*, also of 1893.⁷ There were no critical articles at all during the period.

When, in 1923, Yeats won the Nobel Prize for Literature, interest in his work was, of course, revived. Four articles inspired by this occasion indicate the trend of Yeats's reputation in the 1920s. The *Revue Politique et Littéraire* published a general résumé of his career as a poet and dramatist and presented *The Wind among the Reeds* of 1899 as his masterpiece: "Son chef-d'œuvre, *Le Vent parmi les roseaux*, recueil surtout de ces brefs poèmes extatiques, riches de musique et de sens, où il excelle, se rattachait au symbolisme." In five subsequent issues several of the stories from Irish folklore, *The Stories of Red Hanrahan*, were published.⁸ In the same month in *La Grande Revue* the evaluation insisted primarily upon Yeats as "essentiellement irlandais par son âme, par son idéalisme et son goût du rêve," and characterized his poetry as

⁵ Davray, "Lettres anglaises," *Mercur de France*, XXXIII (July 1899), 267-268.

⁶ "L'Homme qui connut en songe le pays des fées" (anon. trans.), *L'Humanité Nouvelle*, Sept. 1899, pp. 343-344; "L'Isle d'Innisfree," "La Rose du monde," "Chanson" (anon. trans.), Dec. 1899, pp. 669-670.

⁷ "Les Errances d'Oisín" (anon. trans.), "Le Crépuscule celtique," trans. René Philippon; "Innisfree," trans. Laurence Jerrold, *Le Magazine International*. The exact dates are unavailable; neither the Bibliothèque Nationale nor the British Museum has copies of these translations.

⁸ Jeanne Lichnerowicz, "Le dernier Prix Nobel de littérature, W. B. Yeats," *Revue Politique et Littéraire (Revue Bleue)*, LXI (Dec. 1, 1923), 793-794; translations of "Hanrahan le Rouge," LXI (Dec. 1, 1923), 794-798; "Le Tresse de la corde," LXI (Dec. 15, 1923), 831-833; "Hanrahan et Cathleen la fille de Houlihan" and "La Malédiction d'Hanrahan le Rouge," LXII (Jan. 5, 1924), 9-13; "La Vision de Hanrahan," LXII (Jan. 19, 1924), 49-51; "La Mort de Hanrahan," LXII (Feb. 2, 1924), 90-93.

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predominantly composed of "lignes fuyantes, en images vaporeuses."⁹ An article in *Europe* in June 1924 emphasized the same qualities. Had Simone Téry, for example, summed up Yeats's entire work as only "un hymne au rêve d'héroïsme, rêve de beauté, rêve d'amour" in 1910, she would have been correct.¹⁰ But by 1925 this was only a part of Yeats.

Since 1923 extensive translations have been published in France, but, paradoxically, translations for the most part of his earlier poetry. In *Responsibilities* of 1914 Yeats began to assume his "public voice" and to depart from the tenuous escapism and ethereal symbolism of the earlier verse in the direction of the stark, austere tone of his later poetry. Yet French critics and translators paid little attention to Yeats's new voice and continued to insist on him as a poet of the Celtic twilight and on those of his poems most reminiscent of the techniques and tones of the French symbolists. Translations which appeared in the *Revue Politique et Littéraire* in 1927, 1928, and as late as 1935 are indicative; they are all taken from *The Celtic Twilight* and *The Secret Rose*, both prose works of the 1890s.¹¹

No recent critic has done so much for the cause of representing and explaining Yeats to French readers as Madame Madeleine L. Cazamian. In the second volume of *Le Roman et les idées en Angleterre*, Madame Cazamian gives a general survey of Yeats's career, with emphasis on his Irish background and the Celtic elements. Her preference for this phase of Yeats's poetry is evident in her statement that after all, "Quand tout est dit, l'art est pour lui très consciemment beaucoup plutôt une évasion qu'un moyen d'expression directe."¹² The same opinion is evident in her review of the new edition of *A Vision* in 1938 and in her appreciation after his death in 1939. Reviewing two critical works on Yeats, T. R. Henn's *The Lonely Tower* and Vivienne Koch's *The Tragic Phase*, Madame Cazamian, although she concentrates on the later poems because of the subject matter of the two books, still reserves her own preference for the earlier, less philosophical poetry. Believing that the charm and power of the best poems exist even without the explanations of the supernatural experience which produced them, she concludes: "Il est permis de garder une tendresse spéciale pour les

⁹ Simone Téry, "W. B. Yeats," *La Grande Revue*, CXIII (Dec. 1923), 259-272.

¹⁰ Téry, *L'île des bardes: Notes sur la littérature irlandaise contemporaine* (Paris, 1925), p. 98.

¹¹ Claude Dravaine, trans., "La Sagesse du roi," *Revue Politique et Littéraire* (*Revue Bleue*), LXV (Apr. 16, 1927), 240-243; "Le Cœur du printemps," LXVI (Jan. 21, 1928), 40-43; "Le Crépuscule celtique," LXXI (Nov. 18, 1933), 673-677; "Un Diseur de contes," LXXIII (Nov. 16, 1935), 668-671.

¹² *Le Roman et les idées en Angleterre: L'anti-intellectualisme et l'esthétisme*, II, (Paris, 1935), 327-345.

premières évocations du poète, celles qu'il a condamnées comme entachées d'un esthétisme facile et sentimental."¹³

More recently, Yeats has been a poet of interest to other specialists in comparative literature. A few critical articles devoted to his poetry have been concerned with his relation to certain of the French symbolist poets. Harry Goldgar, for example, relates Yeats's use of mood, atmosphere, and symbol to Villiers de l'Isle-Adam's *Axel* and refers to Yeats's preface to H. P. R. Finberg's translation of the play in which Yeats himself recalled the startling effect that it had on him.¹⁴ Marie-Hélène Pauly discusses Yeats's knowledge of and debt to Villiers, Verlaine, and Mallarmé.¹⁵ One of the few French critics who seem to sympathize with, even prefer, Yeats's later poetry, is W. de Lipski. His examination traces in some detail the evolution of Yeats's symbolism from the Celtic period through the two versions of *A Vision*. In explaining the later symbolism, he finds a parallel with Hugo: "Il semble que les deux hommes, aux alentours de la cinquantaine, aient demandé tous deux à un contact prolongé avec l'au-delà, la confirmation de leurs croyances profondes et le renouvellement de leur inspiration."¹⁶

At the present time, Yeats's reputation in France, as far as translation and critical evaluation are concerned, must rest on Madam Cazamian's translations of over seventy of Yeats's lyrics, including the long narrative poem, *The Wanderings of Oisín*. Published in 1954, they represent the most ambitious and most complete rendering of Yeats into French. Madame Cazamian has prefaced her translations with a long and informative biographical and critical summary of Yeats's career, has furnished the English texts, and has included factual notes to the poems, as well as a brief bibliography of both primary and critical works in English. In retaining Yeats's stanzaic and linear forms, she has performed a great service to the preservation of the essential lyric texture of the poems. Her well-balanced choice and her translations validate her critical estimate of Yeats's poetry:

A travers des formes toujours diverses, où concurremment prévalent, ou bien règnent ensemble, masque et symbole, du début à la fin de sa vie, nous passons ainsi, du domaine d'une pensée éprise de vérité à l'explosion du moule qui la contient, à celui du subconscient, avec son ondoyant, son omniprésent mystère. Et ce double jeu fait de Yeats à la fois le plus impersonnel, le plus personnel, le plus conscient et le plus inspiré des poètes modernes.¹⁷

¹³ *Études Anglaises*, V (1952), 54.

¹⁴ Harry Goldgar, "Axel de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam et *The Shadowy Waters* de W. B. Yeats," *RLC*, XXIV (1950), 563.

¹⁵ Marie-Hélène Pauly, "Yeats et les symbolistes français," *RLC*, XX (Jan.-Mar. (1940), 13-33.

¹⁶ *Études Anglaises*, IV (1940), 39.

¹⁷ Yeats, *Poèmes choisis* (Paris, 1954), p. 96.

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Complementing Madame Cazamian's translations, another volume of translations, by Alliette Audra, was published in 1956. Except for a brief introductory appreciation by Edmond Jaloux, at whose suggestion the translations were made, there is no attempt at a critical commentary. Some thirty of Yeats's lyrics are presented in prose translation; the selection is from the earlier poems, almost all written before 1900.¹⁸

Even in English-speaking countries Yeats is much better known as a lyric poet than as a dramatist. There is a corresponding lack of attention to Yeats's drama in France. There are a few scattered, isolated translations of the plays,¹⁹ and a successful version of six of Yeats's principal plays by Madeleine Gibert—providing for French readers the only possible source for a study of the continuity of Yeats's theater.²⁰

The purpose of this account of Yeats's French reputation has been only to summarize the course of Yeats's reception in France and to suggest the main trends of some sixty years of criticism. If the merely numerical is of any importance, translations are plentiful. Yet Yeats remains relatively unknown in France. There is no question of any influence on French poetry.

A clue to the reason for this neglect has been suggested by a French critic writing of Yeats's poetry in general and of his earlier poetry in particular:

Entre nos symbolistes et lui, il y a correspondance et non influence; ce qu'il a pu trouver en eux il l'avait déjà en lui-même; sa forme d'ailleurs est de tendance bien plus classique que la leur. Et pourtant, si loin de nous que paraisse ce rêveur entre les rêveurs, qui n'a rien de latin, ce visionnaire éperdu qui, en scrutant l'invisible, semble s'affranchir de tout ce que nous appelons expérience ou raison, quelque chose tout de même nous le rend proche: son idéalisme indompté, sa recherche passionnée de la forme, son admirable musique poétique, et surtout, son inquiétude intellectuelle et son tempérament d'artiste. Les Anglais lui reprochent de manquer de philosophie dans ses poèmes; nous serions sans doute tentés de lui reprocher au contraire d'en trop mettre. Mais le poète qui à vingt ans, dans son premier livre, écrit que "les mots seuls sont un bien certain," ne saurait manquer d'éveiller en France, en même temps que de la curiosité, une certaine sympathie, auprès de maints fervents des lettres, et de la lettre.²¹

This judgment perhaps explains the attention given to the earlier poems and hints at the reason for the neglect of the later poetry.

¹⁸ *Poèmes de W. B. Yeats* (Paris, 1956).

¹⁹ F. Roger-Carnaz, trans., *Deirdre, Les Ecrits Nouveaux*, Aug.-Sept. 1921; Jeanne Lichnerowicz, trans., *La Terre du désir du cœur, Europe, V* (June 1924), 162-199; Cecil Georges-Bazile, trans., *L'Actrice Reine, Annales Politiques et Littéraires*, Aug. 31 and Sept. 7, 1924; Claude Dravaine, trans., *Le Pot de bouillon, Jeux, Tréteaux et Personnages*, Nov.-Dec., 1946, and *Le Sablier*, Sept.-Oct., 1947.

²⁰ William Butler Yeats, *Théâtre* (Paris, 1954).

²¹ L. Paul-Dubois, "W. B. Yeats," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, LIII (Oct. 1929), 581.

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

In 1947, Louis Cazamian, generalizing on Yeats's career and work, summed up what seems to be, so far, Yeats's French reputation :

Le plus grand poète de cette génération, W. B. Yeats...avait atteint dès le tournant du siècle la pleine maturité de sa pensée.

Les idées poétiques de Yeats...forment...en fait, un libre commentaire à l'art poétique de Verlaine; mais il est significatif que Yeats dans ces pages ne se réclame pas des français...la pleine conscience du symbolisme de son objet et de sa méthode, chez un écrivain qui est en même temps un grand poète, ne limite point cette méthode à l'acceptation passive d'un mot d'ordre venu de France, mais en fait une âme libre et flottante, qui circule à travers la philosophie et la littérature de tous les pays et de tous les temps, et dont la Grande-Bretagne doit chercher des modèles achevés, pour elle les plus accessibles, dans sa tradition nationale.²²

If, as he says, Yeats is the greatest poet of this generation and if Yeats is to prove this position, he should be recognized for his poetry of this century, of this generation. To realize that Yeats's early poetry was poetry written in the nineteenth century and that it was poetry of that century is not to deny its excellencies. Overemphasis on only a part of Yeats's poetic career presents a disproportioned picture. However, in recent years Yeats has appeared from time to time in the curriculum of the *agrégation* in English literature; and, with the relatively recent translations and critical estimations of Madame Cazamian and Madeleine Gibert, Yeats's reputation in France should assume truer proportions.

Louisiana State University

²² *Symbolisme et poésie: L'exemple anglais* (Paris, 1947), pp. 226-227.

BOOK REVIEWS

PANURGE UND HERMES, ZUM URSPRUNG EINES CHARAKTERS BEI RABELAIS. By Ludwig Schrader. Bonn: Romanisches Seminar der Universität, 1958. 222 p.

This Bonn dissertation is highly superior to the average German (or American) thesis in that its author not only knows thoroughly his own field, but is conversant with trends in other fields such as classical philology and comparative mythology, in which great and constant progress has been made in the last decades, while Rabelaisian studies have been, generally speaking, at a standstill since the beginning of our century. Through his familiarity with these fields, our author has been able to throw new light on a Renaissance work which has been woefully misunderstood by the so-called "school of realists." For scholars associated with Abel Lefranc who were responsible for the critical edition of Rabelais, while they conscientiously sought the sources of his inspiration in ancient and contemporary books and followed the clues of contemporary history, entirely neglected the spirit of the ancient sources and ancient history which is alive in Rabelais and helps explain the archaic, unrealistic, mythical aspect of this poet.

Obviously, Dr. Schrader's idea of relating the figure of Panurge to the mythological figure of Hermes-Mercury came to him from Kerényi's study (in an annex to Radin's book on the Winnebago stories) of the Trickster god—the phallic being, sly, voracious, sometimes stupid, who in different primitive civilizations represents "the spirit of disorder, the enemy of boundaries"—traces of whom Kerényi found in European literature in the Spanish picaresque novel, in Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*, in Thomas Mann's *Confessions of Felix Krull*, and in Rabelais' "grand bawdy book" that "fights in the interests of humanism against mediaeval forms of life." Although Kerényi does not mention the particular figure of Panurge, it is Panurge whom he must have had in mind as the reviver of the spirit of Hermes the Trickster.

Dr. Schrader's study is divided into six chapters: (1) the treatment, at the hand of Rabelaisian scholars, of the figure of Panurge (an admirably poised discussion of the limits and shortcomings of the different interpretations); (2) a detailed analysis of the traits of character of Rabelais' Panurge; (3) a complete enumeration of the meanings of the Greek word *panourgos*; (4) a survey of the features attributed to the god Hermes by the Greeks; (5) a comparison between Panurge and Hermes; and (6) a chapter entitled "The Rogue," which draws the conclusions from this comparison.

The parallelism Hermes-Panurge must at first glance appeal to any reader. Oddly enough, however, the more our author elaborates upon this theme, the more the reader's enthusiasm tends to weaken. How is this possible in a book of such learning and such artistic taste? First of all, because the author himself, who in the title of his study proclaims Hermes to be the "origin" of Panurge, in the last chapter identifies Panurge rather with the archetype of the rogue that is "timeless" and must be considered "along with all the other possible historical

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traditions" (pp. 141-143). Furthermore, the parallelism established between Panurge and Hermes sometimes fails to convince. After having arranged the character traits of Panurge in four groups, (1) the ne'er-do-well, (2) the erudite and bourgeois person (a very debatable coupling), (3) the uncanny one (*der Unheimliche*), (4) the companion and helper, the author offers a parallel fourfold picture of traits of Hermes; but I fail to see in Hermes any true analogy to the "bourgeois" Panurge.

Moreover, in a number of cases the parallelism would seem contrived. Thus in the *moutons de Panurge* episode, where Panurge frustrates the attempt of the drowning Dindenault to come to shore by pushing him back into the water with a big pole, he is supposed to represent Hermes *psychopompos* with his staff! Again, in the same episode, the incident in which Panurge drowns the bellwether should be interpreted, according to the author, as a manifestation of Hermes, who, according to Greek legend, as a *Widderträger*, as a carrier of a bellwether, was able to save the city of Tanagra! But in the relevant sentence of Rabelais, "Panurge . . . choisit de tout le troupeau un beau et grand mouton, et le *emportoit* cryant et bellant," there is no "carrying" of a bellwether (*emporter* is not *porter*!). And, when Panurge's purchase of the bellwether is praised by the unsuspecting victim Dindenault ("O qu'il a bien seue choisir, le challand! il se y extend, le pail-lard"), these words could hardly suggest a eulogy of the god of shepherds and bellwethers.

Convincing direct evidence of a connection between Panurge and Hermes is scanty indeed. The fact that the Greek word *panourgos* is used occasionally of Hermes need not weigh too heavily, since Rabelais may have chosen this name simply to indicate the multifarious and contradictory nature of the character. Furthermore, the passage in which the Turkish *rostisseur* of Panurge (II, 17) is put to sleep par "*vouloir divin, on bien de quelque bon Mercure qui endormit cautelement Argus*," the phrasing itself ("*quelque bon Mercure*") shows that the only analogy is that between the putting to sleep of Argus and the putting to sleep of Panurge's tormentor. Nor does the scene of Panurge's freeing himself, "half-baked," from the dogs that pursue him warrant the (hesitant) suggestion of our author that Panurge, like Hermes, has the gift of talking with animals. Again, if, with Martianus Capella, Mercury, before his marriage with Philology, first consults Apollo, this cannot be, as Dr. Schrader himself concedes, the reason for Panurge's becoming enmeshed in the *Querelle des femmes*.

Yet, in spite of all these doubtful parallels, there remains in the reader's mind the certainty that Panurge, while not identifiable with a Greek god (the ultimate dignity of a god is entirely lacking) nor made of simple human stuff (from which he is distinguished by the demoniac in him), has been endowed by Rabelais with a composite nature (I would not say with a "structured character") that is somehow alien to the half-divine, half-human figure of the Twister, the creator of disorder. In Panurge average unheroic man (the type that appeared first in French literature as Reynard the Fox) and the Renaissance scholar have been combined with the additional mythical aspects of the Twister god—not to forget the character of the *mystes*, which is clearly indicated in Panurge's hymn to lenders and borrowers. Surely we have here a Panurge invaded by the numinous, by the "divine" principle of lending and borrowing (though Dr. Schrader sees in him only the god of commerce).

Our author mentions the fact that, in the three books of which he is the protagonist, Panurge shows no development of character. This amorphous aspect of

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Panurge could perhaps be brought together with the *acte gratuit* nature of his activities, which somehow, according to Professor Vordtriede, anticipate those of Gide's Lafcadio and contribute to the elusiveness of the whole plot in the three last books, in which the question of Panurge's marriage is only a pretext for the display of all the facets of that problem (and of other problems). Panurge remains the disturber of peace who questions the existing order. Being a constant question mark, how could he have a personal development of character?

In spite of its shortcomings, Dr. Schrader's study is a valuable contribution to Rabelais philology.

LEO SPITZER

The Johns Hopkins University

THE POWER OF SATIRE: MAGIC, RITUAL, ART. By Robert C. Elliott. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960. xi, 300 p.

Partly because of its embattled and episodic history, partly because of its protean changes in form and function, satire is a genre which has resisted definition. Even the etymology of the term has reflected its hybrid character. Consequently, we have had some sturdy monographs, concentrating upon specific authors and episodes; we have also had rapid surveys and pleasant samplings of the vast and variegated corpus of material. But there has long been need for a general study, historically and theoretically oriented, which would both formulate the subject in depth and analyze it through selective examples. It would be a satisfaction to be able to report that Professor Elliott's book had supplied that need. He seems indeed to have had it more or less in mind, and his argument may at least be credited as another monographic contribution toward it. His intention, as he describes it, has been to deal "with the origins of satire in primitive magic and incantation, and also with some of satire's towering achievements." Thus he proposes to span his theme from its alpha to its omega, but he does not propose to spend much concern on the intervening stages. Rather than study the complexities of an elaborate process of development, he is content to trace the surviving vestiges of an atavistic reversion. In this respect, in reducing the sophisticated to the primitive, and in stressing the archetypal at the expense of the individual, he employs the reductive approach that mythocritics have familiarized us with in other spheres. Thus culture heroes like Freud and Frazer, along with their critical expositors, are very much in evidence. Yet the student of mere satire looks in vain through the index for such names as Martial, Erasmus, Machiavelli, Pascal, La Rochefoucauld, Heine, Congreve, Wycherley, Gay, Fielding, Dickens, Bernard Shaw, or Mark Twain.

Taking his title in its literal sense, Mr. Elliott finds his model in the tribal poet whose poems were believed to be magical spells enabling him to confound his enemies—Archilochus, for example, whose vengeful iambs were said to have impelled their victims to suicide. Instances which illustrate that belief are anecdotally multiplied from the lore of the Greeks, the Arabs, and particularly the Celts—notably the gift of Irish bards, so frequently attested by English writers, for berhyming rats to death. This is an attractive premise in its simplicity, in its reduction of the satiric motive to the fulfillment of an animus—what Christian Scientists would call "malicious animal magnetism." But the extant texts that

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fit into it, as a formula, are few and crude; no great satirist wrote on the assumption that his targets would oblige him by dropping dead; and the subtleties and refinements of civilized literature are not to be explained away by cross-reference to the practices of naive superstition. Moreover, Mr. Elliott need not have limited his inquiry to a single line of anthropological precedent. Though both the *Saturnalia* and *Fescennine* verses are mentioned in passing, it is not shown what important satirical impulses sprang from the carnival and the *charivari*. The transition "from magic to art" is effected by suggesting some admittedly "tenuous relations" to the Roman satirists, with a few side glances at Aristophanic ritualism. Significantly, Archilochus figures in the discussion more often than Aristophanes and Lucian, taken together. And not without reason, since Mr. Elliott's canon is more adequate for invective than for irony. Though he is willing to recognize that satire has sublimated its original goals, he is not concerned with it as an ideological weapon nor with such political purport as Croiset and Ehrenberg have elicited from Old Comedy.

Mr. Elliott skeptically refers here and there to the satirist's protestations of "moral purpose," "reforming intent," and "social utility"; and he includes a late and sketchy chapter on "The Satirist and Society," emphasizing the resistance of latter to former. Having given up the claim of satire to operate like a hex or a *malocchio*, he seems to have abandoned interest in the question of satiric efficacy. A casual allusion to Voltaire speaks of his "niggling subterfuges" and treats him—how he would have hated it!—as a magician, altogether ignoring his crusade for Calas and all the other triumphs of pen turned sword. If the rationale of the major practitioners can be summed up in the motto *castigat ridendo mores*, then castigation is the main component for Mr. Elliott, who adds an appendix on the curse; *mores* receive comparatively little of his attention, while laughter itself remains a grim means for achieving a hostile end. His most detailed analyses fall under the ambivalent heading of "The Satirist Satirized," pointing to Homer's Thersites as their exemplar, and rather questionably identifying the figure of the railer with the role of the fool. Shakespeare is represented, not by the obvious case of *As You Like It*, but by the quasi-tragic *Timon of Athens*, which only qualifies by straining contexts. Ben Jonson might have proved a more helpful witness. Molière is discussed, on the basis not of *Tartuffe* nor the genuine satires on medicine, but of the problematic and unresolvable *Misanthrope*. The best of Mr. Elliott's analyses is that which focuses on *Gulliver's Travels*, though it is slightly bemused by "Menippean satire"—not the most cogent of Northrop Frye's attempts to confer new meanings on obsolete terms. Gulliver's progress from the First through the Fourth Book, with due distinction between him and Swift, is integrated by his progression from *ingénu* to *misanthrope*.

Mr. Elliott does not come to grips with Stendhal's views on the difficulty of writing satire in the nineteenth century, or with Ambrose Bierce's on the incompatibility between that mode and American culture. The only post-Swiftian cases considered at length are a pair of willful exceptions to any rule, Wyndham Lewis and Roy Campbell. They accord with each other, albeit with nobody else; and they do exemplify, much better than greater satirists, Mr. Elliott's emphasis on sheer vituperation. On the whole, his method seems better adapted to simple-minded campaigns against Irish rats than to those spiritual wars of wit and passion against such formidable and memorable antagonists as Cleon and Zimri, Isaac Bickerstaff and Monsieur Prudhomme, the Obscure Men and Napoleon the Little. It is commendable that a scholar whose previous research has been in the

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English eighteenth century, perhaps the most parochially specialized of literary fields, should have the courage and the ambition to tackle a problem of such theoretical scope and historical amplitude as that which Mr. Elliott has set for himself. He is not to be blamed for relying much of the time upon the researches of others; and he has followed such admirable guides as G. L. Hendrickson for Latin poetry and F. W. Robinson for Celtic folklore. Yet it is somewhat disquieting to read a scholarly analysis of *Le Misanthrope* which depends so heavily upon an English translation, excellent as Richard Wilbur's may be. And there is surely a disproportion somewhere between the accumulation of secondhand knowledge quoted or paraphrased from works of anthropology and psychology, on the one hand, and on the other the lack of firsthand acquaintance with significant landmarks and classic problems within the book's chosen terrain. Here, perhaps, is where the English Department could learn a few lessons from the Department of Comparative Literature.

H. L.

AN AGE OF CRISIS: MAN AND WORLD IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH THOUGHT. By Lester G. Crocker. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1959. xx, 496 p.

Professor Crocker's most recent volume is a contribution of great interest to all students of the French Enlightenment. By the vastness of its scope it constitutes a veritable encyclopaedia of eighteenth-century French moral philosophy, and will unquestionably take its place alongside the syntheses of Cassirer, Hazard, and Havens. *An Age of Crisis* is the first of three projected volumes devoted to what Mr. Crocker believes to be the moral crisis of the modern world—"now at a critical pass" (p. xi)—which he traces to the ambiguous legacy of the eighteenth-century *philosophes*. He has not attempted to treat exhaustively each of his principal subjects, but rather to clarify the position of eighteenth-century writers with respect to the ethical problems of the age.

In his first section, devoted to views of the human condition, he traces with a fine hand the familiar story of the predicament of enlightened man, bereft of "metaphysical fundament," in an unprovidential universe. In the middle section, on the activity of the human mind, he deals with discussions of free will and with determinist conclusions drawn from Locke's popularization of sensationism. In the third and most elaborate section of his analysis, he devotes eight separate chapters to the various theories of human nature, human motivation, and ethics current in the eighteenth century. A final section of "culminations" recapitulates his sustained argument that the Revolution's Reign of Terror and the Marquis de Sade's cultivated perversity were ultimate and "logical" (p. 470) conclusions of the pessimism, determinism, and naturalism which the *philosophes* had been teaching since early in the century.

Every reviewer will doubtless wish Mr. Crocker had written parts of his long book by different lights, and there is every evidence that Mr. Crocker has considered other possibilities. His method, based on Cassirer's, is rigorously adhered to, and has the formal merit of pre-established order. It also has inconveniences, of which Mr. Crocker seems aware. His scrupulous regard for pertinence has left unresolved some of the problems Diderot encountered in his efforts to reconcile

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dictionary arrangement with the older idea of an encyclopaedia. The book is replete with cross-references which look both forward and back. It abounds with expressions such as "we shall see more clearly," "as we have seen," "we shall discuss it more amply," "we must await a later point in our investigation," "this will be treated more fully," "we shall return to this," "as we shall see (and have already glimpsed)," "it would be interesting to follow in detail," "it would be interesting to turn back to the chapter," and the like. Amply demonstrated propositions require extended consideration under antithetical rubrics: for example, p. 271, "... is, by 1760, so commonplace an assumption—though not an unchallenged one, as we shall see in another chapter—that we need not devote more space to it."

As a book to be read, rather than consulted, *An Age of Crisis* often leaves the reader with the impression that the author himself is unhappy with the discipline imposed by his arbitrary divisions. In the chapter on "Human Nature in the Novel," for example, he explains that "we are not considering *La Nouvelle Héloïse* in this chapter, although it may be said to belong here, because we have already included it in the analysis of ..." (p. 441). Tempted though he may be to pursue a ranging idea, he is restrained by the reflection that "even the wide limits of my subject do not permit me to expand beyond my earlier references to it" (p. 201). This classical discipline is doubtless commendable. As a method, it keeps encyclopaedic ideas confined to the categories to which he assigns them. But it also results in repetitions and fragmentary presentations. To cite one example, Voltaire's views of human nature are discussed both in the chapter devoted to the "Problem of Evil" and in the chapter on "Man's Goodness." In the first Mr. Crocker contends that Voltaire's "pessimism deepens with the years" (p. 67) in the second he adds that it would not be inappropriate to mention that there were optimistic aspects of Voltaire's views of human nature as well (pp. 355-356).

Apart from the formal organization of his book, however, Professor Crocker's study stands on its own merits as a work of erudite and thoughtful scholarship. It is a bold and challenging synthesis, written for an age of scholarly specialization when syntheses of any kind are generally suspected of synthesizing too little, too much, or the wrong things. Whatever may be thought of Mr. Crocker's emphases and conclusions, it cannot be denied that he does a reasonable justice to the diversity of eighteenth-century opinion. Some of his emphases are old, others are more recent, and still others are his own. His central theme—that the common-law marriage of Reason and Nature, recognized since classical antiquity, deteriorated badly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as Nature's unstable character became a matter of police record—was the standard argument of *anti-philosophes* from one end of the eighteenth century to the other. It was restored to a certain vigor in America during the New Humanist revival of polite rationalism, and more soberly argued some years ago by Professor R. R. Palmer in the concluding chapter of his *Catholics and Unbelievers*. Reinhold Niebuhr made the same criticisms of naturalism in Chapter IV of the 1939 Gifford lectures entitled *The Nature and Destiny of Man: A Christian Interpretation*. Simone de Beauvoir also presented essential aspects of Mr. Crocker's analysis in her essay entitled "Faut-il brûler Sade?" With these diverse and respected predecessors, Mr. Crocker has built an impressive, if controversial, interpretation of eighteenth-century thought. His study of late writers of the century appears to demonstrate, although he does not invite us to consider it in this light, that the dire predictions of the Enlightenment's enemies were in fact fulfilled. Palissot was fundamentally

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right after all, along with Chaumeix, Abbé Guyon, the bishop of Auxerre, and others who held that the *philosophes'* doctrines would turn France into a state of nature where all things were permitted.

While Mr. Crocker's position is distinguished from that of the eighteenth-century reactionaries in important respects, it is apparent that he walks a rigidly tight rope. Unlike them, he recognizes that Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau themselves were largely innocent of the moral cynicism and ethical nihilism which came to flower in Rétif, Sade, and Mirabeau. In the end, however, with the advantage of historical hindsight, he sees the unholy barbarians of the Marquis de Sade and of the Terror as children of Enlightenment, as if the best minds of the eighteenth century were only waiting for Gaudet to draw ultimate conclusions from the implications of their teaching. Enlightenment philosophy "failed," he says, because of its "weaknesses" and "inadequacies," which the Revolution exposed (p. 448). Not that "the cruelty and bloodthirstiness of the Terror were due . . . to any ideas of the *philosophes* . . . Yet there was a logical, though not a necessary, connection which made the development easier intellectually" (p. 470). There are perhaps unperceived subtleties in this deliberately worded argument, but what Mr. Crocker still apparently means is that the Enlightenment supplied the basic principles of the Terror. "What had been in the realm of mind came to life in the realm of political events" (p. 448).

After identifying Enlightenment and Terror, however, Mr. Crocker adds important qualifications. His pluralistic view of the *philosophes* as the street cleaners of modern history (p. 472) who opened roads to traffic in all directions is at least a partial exculpation, but his further observation that they failed to put up destination signs of any kind seems less than a historical estimate of the positivity of their convictions. The emphasis he places on the strange things done in their name is, as Mr. Crocker himself frequently mentions, not the main current of the Enlightenment. Not all its political thoughts become unspeakable dreams which prepared the "unspeakable reality" (p. 446) of the twentieth century or of 1789 either. If the Terror owed something to Rousseau, so did the Declaration of Rights. Mr. Crocker is much more convincing when he says that "by a slight turn of logic" the *philosophes'* views could serve a number of contradictory causes (p. 217). While it was generally recognized throughout the eighteenth century that ideas were weapons, it was seldom maintained that they could be made foolproof.

To isolate the totality of scandalous "implications" (p. 448) and attribute them synthetically to the Enlightenment is to judge the age of lights only by its broken and distorted shadows. While Mr. Crocker says that the *philosophes* were not responsible, the point of his book seems to be that their doctrines were the beginning of our present philosophical delinquency. Precisely because the Enlightenment was the complex intellectual enterprise he has shown it to be, some of his "upshots" and "end results" seem highly synthetic. Voltaire's belief in the utility of the *dieu gendarme* (p. 470) does not make him a partisan of Rousseau's civil religion, as his marginal comments on the *Contrat social* indicate. Despite Montesquieu's reputed historical pessimism, it is still a moot point whether his denial of having "diminished the power of reason" (p. 75) was mere prudence. It also seems debatable that Marivaux' "pessimism is supreme" (p. 344), and difficult to see how his emphasis on "self-deception and the prostitution of reason by the deeper vitalities" could culminate, "though only after a leap, in the work of Sade" (pp. 422-423), unless Mr. Crocker means *le grand saut périlleux*. If the eighteenth-century novel "marches on inevitably to the Marquis de Sade" (p. 446), it more

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often straggled along to more human habitations. Finally, if the philosophers of the Enlightenment wrote the "opening chapter" (p. xi) of a moral crisis more serious than usual in the history of ethical thought, Mr. Crocker would undoubtedly agree that extensive introductions had been readily available for a long time.

Had Mr. Crocker announced his subject for what it appears to be—a modern history of philosophic nihilism—rather than as a synthesis of the ethical thought of the Enlightenment, his position would have been more forthright. It can scarcely be denied that he has isolated symptoms in the eighteenth century which bear a resemblance to the syndrome he is studying, even though they turn up for the most part in eminently sane and healthy individuals. When allowance is made for thetic distortion, his demonstration that the Enlightenment was not so naive or so optimistic as it is so often represented is in itself an invaluable service to literary and historical scholarship. Some of his individual analyses, such as his identification of the vinegar in Rousseau's nature remedies, are small masterpieces, and for these alone historians of literary ideas will remain in his debt.

During the last decade professors of eighteenth-century French literature have occasionally been accused of not tending to their literary business, by which it is usually meant that they entertain imperfect sympathies for the parochial preoccupations of the new criticism. It is gratifying to see Professor Crocker's vast undertaking, unquestionably one of the most ambitious of the entire century, devoted unapologetically to the Enlightenment's most munificent literary legacy to the modern world—its ideas.

LELAND THIELEMANN

University of California, Los Angeles

GOETHE'S *FAUST*, PART I. Newly translated by Bertram Jessup. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958. 224 p.

It is with *Faust* translations as it is with religions; their very multiplicity is a comfort to the believer and a thorn in the skeptic's side. Each new one leaves something to be desired, but it also adds its characteristic touch to a picture which perhaps cannot be drawn in its totality by any one man. Professor Jessup has, at any rate, pencilled some very desirable touches into the composite English rendition of *Faust*, which is by now made up of fifty-odd individual translations (all but a handful are restricted, as is Jessup's, to Part I).

Faust is a universe in itself. It would be foolish to expect a translator to do equal justice to all its component parts. After all, the poet himself failed to do so, and few will claim to see in, say, the Walpurgis Night's Dream the same perfection one admires in the great monologues, in Gretchen's lyrics, or in the Helena episode of Part II. Nonetheless, a certain standard of competence is called for, and the translator must bring to his task certain qualifications. Richard Wagner once wrote that in Goethe's *Faust*, "I can show our German actors a play of the highest conceivable literary stature. Nonetheless, their natural endowment must be great enough to let them play every role and speak every part, if they have any gift for the theater at all" (*Über Schauspieler und Sänger*). This surely applies to translators as well. They do have to "speak every part."

Jessup never leaves one in doubt that he has understood the work. (This is an achievement by no means shared by all *Faust* translators, whose shortcomings are often as glaring, but not so amusing, as the Frenchman's line "Je m'appelle maitre, je m'appelle Docteur Gar" (heiße Doktor gar). Perhaps because he has mas-

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tered the subject better than some other recent translators, Jessup's rendition is superior to theirs especially in those passages which have a high idea content, e.g., Faust's monologues.

For example, the Erdgeist's self-definition, "In Lebensfluten, im Tatensturm . . ." in Jessup's version ends beautifully in the lines.

"For thus do I weave at the spindle of time
A dress for the Godhead in living design."

This is surely preferable to Alice Raphael's version:

"Thus toiling at the humming loom of time and fate,
The Godhead's living vestures I create,"

and to Albert Latham's rendition:

"The ringing loom of Time is my care,
And I weave God's living garment there."

The passage is typical of Goethe's gift for describing plastically the most ineffable concepts and phenomena, and Jessup has so translated it that this gift comes out in English as well. What is more, he has done so without slighting the poetry of the lines. The length of his lines corresponds to the original (Goethe purposely made them longer than the preceding ones, so that the passage is closed off even visually), while Mrs. Raphael's does not. Most important, Jessup has not lost the rhythm and the impression which the passage is intended to convey, that of ceaseless activity.

To mention another touchstone of *Faust* translations, we might point out that Jessup's—or rather, Gretchen's—cry, "Heinrich, you fill me with horror!" lies within the linguistic range of a distraught young girl, which is surely what Goethe had in mind when he had Gretchen cry, "Mir grauts vor dir!", rather than half a dozen other, more high-flown expressions. The translation of the otherwise competent Philip Wayne sounds stilted in comparison: "Heinrich, I have a dread of thee!"

No English version of *Faust* is the translation, in the manner, for example, of Putnam's *Don Quixote*. Jessup's weakness—it is minor but persistent—consists in an unfortunate predilection for original renditions of individual words. In the preface, for example, he introduces us to "the *Faust*." The article is unnecessary; the work is simply called *Faust* in German (and, more important, in English. Would we speak of "the" *Hamlet*?). The little word interposes between work and reader an element of oddity and quaintness, which is precisely what Jessup does *not* want us to feel when we approach the poem. Similarly, "am höchsten Feiertage" should not be "at the most elegant soirées" (p. 128, when Gretchen discovers the first batch of jewelry). Mrs. Raphael's "holy day," Latham's "festal day," and even Wayne's "in the most splendid company" are all closer not only to the letter but to the spirit of the original. "Soirée" is Heine, not Goethe.

These misaccentuations, however, seldom extend beyond the odd word. On the whole, the translation is a good one, and, in view of the translator's special competence—which may stem from his philosophical as well as his linguistic training—one wishes that he would now turn to Part II, which is still waiting for a good English rendition.

WOLFGANG LEPPMANN

University of Oregon

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

ANTOLOGÍA CRÍTICA DE LA NUEVA POESÍA CHILENA. By Jorge Elliott. Concepción: Publicaciones del Consejo de Investigaciones Científicas de la Universidad de Concepción, 1957. 319 p.

In the preliminary note to his anthology Professor Elliott states that his field of specialization is not Chilean letters but rather the literature of England and North America. He feels, however, that this training in a foreign literature yields insights into his own literary tradition usually denied the domestically oriented critic. This position is well taken; those familiar with the Spanish American field will, I think, readily agree that criticism—even of contemporary poetry—all too often suffers from a peculiarly Hispanic insularity. On occasion the frame of reference of the Spanish American specialist includes French poetry and criticism; only rarely does it encompass the best of the creative and critical writings of the English-speaking peoples. Professor Elliott has read and knows Donne, Shakespeare, Yeats, Eliot, and Dylan Thomas; and his grounding in the critics—Empson, C. Day Lewis, Murry, Robert Graves, et al.—is equally sound.

The *Antología crítica* is divided into two sections: the first is a 140-page essay dealing with such matters as "El problema de la poesía chilena," "El proceso chileno en la poesía," and "La nueva poesía chilena." The second half of the volume presents the poetry without additional note or comment. This format unfortunately gives rise to a serious difficulty. Unless the poems are repeated in the introductory essay, as they occasionally are, Professor Elliott's textual analyses are presented apart from the selections to which they refer. Given the rigorous attention demanded by close reading of contemporary poetry, the necessity for frequent page flipping can become rather annoying. Had the author chosen to integrate his commentary and analysis directly with the poems, the *Antología crítica* would have been considerably more effective.

This mechanical defect notwithstanding, Professor Elliott's book provides a useful and well-balanced introduction to contemporary Chilean poetry. In presenting the general lines of poetic development in twentieth-century Chile, the author takes as his point of departure the works of the three most celebrated—the most imitated—of recent Chilean poets: Nobel prize winner Gabriela Mistral, Vicente Huidobro, leader of the *creacionistas*, and the meteoric Pablo Neruda.

In his discussion of Gabriela Mistral, Elliott is careful to point out the *pudor provinciano* which distinguishes her love poetry from that of *rioplatense* poetesses with whom she is often grouped. The significance of Gabriela, he feels, is that she, as a rural poetess and as an artist intensely sensitive to nature, has created a unique poetry which reveals, "los grandes ritos solares y vegetacionales de América" (p. 56). In this kind of poetry Mistral has infused a mystic quality which has produced a "tension" comparable to that evident in the finest mystics of the Hispanic tradition. For Elliott it is this poetry of the mature Gabriela, this poetry of fecundity, ritual, and incantation, which lends greatness to the poetess and provides the reader with "una nueva y más profunda revelación" (p. 58).

Elliott's critique of Huidobro rests upon the conviction that the poet's inherent artistic intuition overcomes his adherence to a rather poorly conceived theory of *creacionismo*, which in turn is based upon a poorly conceived notion of *poesía pura*. In short, Huidobro was capable of rising to poetic heights in spite of his ideas about his art (p. 79). Elliott examines the inconsistencies arising from this divergence between theory and practice in the context of the familiar Abbé Bremond-Paul Valéry discussion of *la poésie pure*. He observes that Huidobro, wish-

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ing to "create new facts" as the substance of his poetry, rejects rationality in the ordinary sense, but often fails to substitute a *lógica poética* without which any poetry is essentially false. To illustrate this lack of "verdad poética" in some of Huidobro's work, Elliott points out the "invented" image in the third line of "Célebre Océano":

"El mar decía a las olas
Hijas mías volved pronto
Yo veo desde aquí a las esfinges en equilibrio sobre
el alambre..."

and adds: "No se puede defender la última imagen por lo que se ha *inventado* en ella; simplemente no hay verdad poética." Elliott's term "inventado" seems to signify "poetically illogical," "extemporized," in short, shoddy.

Professor Elliott's discussion of Pablo Neruda is especially noteworthy. Neruda's formative years are examined in the light of his readings in foreign literatures—the works of such writers as Whitman, Tagore, Rimbaud, and the *rioplatense* postmodernists (p. 86). The critical reader may feel that Elliott indulges in a bit of hedging, since his remarks about these early influences upon Neruda are presented in terms of conjecture: "[Neruda] debe de haber llegado a conocer a Whitman y a Tagore..." (p. 86). However, in an essay of this type, his object was not to present a tightly documented formal study or to prove a thesis, but to provide the reader with an interesting and, at times, provocative introduction to the work of the various poets. In relating Neruda to other contemporary poets, Elliott cites at some length Dylan Thomas' explanation of the dynamics of his imagistic process, and points out how remarkably well Neruda's poetry (of the *Residencia en la tierra* period) exemplifies the Welshman's concept of poetic art (pp. 77-78). In his final evaluation of Neruda's artistic worth, Elliott rejects the opinion of the North American critic Delmore Schwartz, who calls him "a crude and ignorant genius" (p. 93), and agrees with the English poet George Sutherland Fraser, who, in a discussion of contemporary poetic diction, has called Neruda "the greatest master of them all" (p. 92).

Some thirty poets are presented in the *Antología crítica*; a detailed discussion of all of them is beyond the scope of this review. However, several in addition to Mistral, Huidobro, and Neruda may be singled out as particularly interesting. Pedro Prado, known better in this country as a postmodernist prose writer, is represented by two fine sonnets, as well as a longer poem, "Lázaro." Prado, whom Elliott along with Henríquez Ureña considers a "transitional" figure, strikes the reviewer as an eclectic who combines the formal elegance of the Parnassians with a richness of metaphor suggestive of the symbolists. The "urban surrealists," or the writers of the Mandrágora movement, are represented by several poets: Braulio Arenas, Jorge Cáceres, Teófilo Cid, and Gómez Correa. Although the most charitable comment that may be made about this group—particularly Cáceres and Arenas—is that their poetry is "provocative," Elliott rightly includes poets of this orientation in his anthology. Quite different from the surrealists, and for the reviewer considerably more interesting, is the *antipoesía* of Nicanor Parra. The technique employed by this poet is a kind of consciously controlled use of the prosaic: worn out scraps from the romantics' lexicon, clichés from the daily press, and an attempt to eliminate virtually all simile and metaphor. The final product of the technique is, however, surprisingly communicative.

The specialist in Spanish American literature, as well as those interested in

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the general development of contemporary poetry, will find the *Antología crítica* a valuable volume of high over-all quality. It is, however, subject to a few criticisms. At times Elliott's interest in and enthusiasm for Anglo-American letters has warped his appreciation of Hispanic poetry. He speaks of the poverty of certain kinds of imagery in Spanish poetry as compared with English poetry, and he finds Spanish poetry less rich in onomatopoeic qualities (p. 134). Although he attempts to support these views with specific examples, for the reviewer such comparisons of intrinsic poetic values between two languages are inconclusive at best. Some readers may question the frequent use of "parallels" and similarities in his discussion of the Chilean poets' relation to foreign writers. There is a certain glibness in evidence when Rokha is likened to Whitman, or Neruda to Dylan Thomas; Elliott does not always make absolutely clear whether he is talking about literary influences or merely speaking of comparable reactions by two artists to similar stimuli. But he has obviously not attempted to produce a thoroughly documented, "airtight" study of thirty poets in relation to their European and American sources. His purpose appears to have been more modest—to give his readers a fairly representative view of twentieth-century Chilean poetic production, and to provide an informative, provocative, and rather informal introduction to these writings. He has, I think, accomplished these objectives.

MARTIN S. STABB

University of Missouri

THE BOOKS AT THE WAKE. A STUDY OF LITERARY ALLUSIONS IN JAMES JOYCE'S *FINNEGANS WAKE*. By James S. Atherton. New York: Viking Press, 1960. 308 p.

T. S. Eliot called Joyce a "purely literary" writer. Stephen Dedalus' conversation in *Ulysses*, that "farced epistol to the hibuws," is to be sure a tissue of allusions, and *Finnegans Wake* is farced with them. Nevertheless, Eliot oversimplified—for Joyce used books less as sources of material than as human phenomena, like the houses on a street or the furniture in a room or the blue roses on the wallpaper. Marie Corelli served as well as Shakespeare. In the Western world most people read something, if only billboards or cereal boxes; many of them read books, some of them read good books, and a few of them read thoughtfully. Joyce therefore, as an observer of humanity, was concerned with books as well as billboards, with ideas as well as sensations. In this respect *Finnegans Wake* is an old-fashioned novel. Aside from its linguistic virtuosity and the variety of its styles, perhaps the most impressive thing about it is the all but all-inclusive scope and sweep of its interests; and the most impressive thing about Mr. Atherton's performance is the learning and ingenuity with which he has identified so many and often such subtle allusions.

He has divided the reading that underlies *Finnegans Wake* into three parts: (1) the structural books, as he calls them, which support the novel's "uniqueness of style, of structure, and of what may be called the interior logic"; (2) the literary sources, which, as I have indicated, are indiscriminately miscellaneous; (3) the sacred books: the Bible, the Liturgy, the Book of the Dead, the Koran, the Eddas, and the texts of Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism.

Mr. Atherton relates the style, structure, and interior logic of *Finnegans Wake*

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to the theories of Vico, Bruno, Nicholas of Cusa, Freud, Jung, Morton Prince, Lévy-Bruhl, James Hogg, Arthur Symons, Paul Klee, Hans Arp, the Abbé Jousse, and others, showing line for line and word for word how their ideas, their names, the titles of their books, and often their words appear in various guises. The discussions of Klee, Arp, Hogg, Jousse, and Théophile Gautier are new and interesting; most of this section, however, merely brings together in one place a variety of materials which, though hitherto scattered, have been pretty generally known.

The other two sections are much more valuable. The section on literary sources not only brings together Mr. Atherton's famous articles on Rowntree's *Poverty*, Boucicault's *Arrah-na-Pogue*, W. G. Wills' *A Royal Divorce*, Cardinal Newman, and Lewis Carroll; it also contains brilliant new chapters on Swift, the Church Fathers, the Irish writers, the manuscripts, and a miscellany that includes Homer, Dante, Goethe, Pascal, Descartes, Darwin, and Gorky, along with Marie Corelli, James Fenimore Cooper, and Henry James Byron, author of *Our Boys*. Mr. Atherton's minute erudition enables him to reveal, for example, that the "Jymes" who is "out of job, would sit and write," and of whom people wonder "how very many piously forged palimpsests slipped in the first place . . . from his pelagiarist pen," is not Joyce himself, as has been generally assumed, but Giacomo Cortese, a classical scholar who in 1884 made a great reputation for himself by "discovering" and "deciphering" a palimpsest he had manufactured. That Mr. Atherton's erudition is matched by his ingenuity is shown by his discussion of the controversy over *two dottore* in *Inferno*, V, 121:

"Another quotation is hidden in the words, 'And the greater the patrar the griever the pinch. And that's what your doctor knows' . . . Joyce is creating here one of the mirror effects of which he was fond . . . : as Dante says *two dottore*, which in his work should mean Virgil, to follow a quotation from Boethius; so Joyce says 'Patrar,' which in his language should mean Petrarch, to precede a quotation from Dante."

The section on the sacred books is done with equal skill and verve; it is followed by an alphabetical list of literary allusions, giving authors, titles, and quotations in the *Wake*, and by a brief but relevant bibliography.

In a work of such scope and such detail, it would be almost miraculous if there were no errors or omissions. Mr. Atherton accuses me of having suggested that *Ayenbite of Inwy* is "a valuable, though obscure, source for some intricate points of theology," though I said quite plainly that it was a handbook of virtues and vices for laymen, on a par with *Handlyng Synne*. He says that Joyce treats Oscar Wilde "with contempt and loathing," though in the first passage that he adduces Wilde is clearly identified with Joyce himself ("Mum's for's maxim, ban's for's book"); and, as for Joyce's attitude toward Wilde's trial and toward sexual misconduct, Herbert Howarth's contrary opinion in *The Irish Writers, 1880-1940* is much more firmly backed with evidence. Mr. Atherton does not mention Bergson, though Joyce names him in an important passage dealing with time and space, or Christian Morgenstern, or *Ramcau's Nephew*, or Jean Chapelain's *Réponse du Sieur de la Montagne au Sieur du Rivage*, though Joyce alludes to them all. Finally, Mr. Atherton's quotations from Joyce's text are frequently inaccurate, and the proofreading is deplorable; what should be "primer" comes out "prime," what should be "XI" comes out "II," and what should be "167" comes out "117," to cite a few of many cases. But these are after all minor points. The book is a major job of scholarship; by tracking down so many literary sources, Mr. Atherton

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ton has revealed the meaning of passages that had seemed to have none, and in many more cases has added, as he puts it, "new and unexpected implication to a passage in which several meanings have already been perceived." The word "indispensable" is much abused by reviewers, but I don't see how any serious student of *Finnegans Wake* can do without this book.

J. MITCHELL MORSE

Pennsylvania State University

CERVANTES UND DIE FIGUR DES DON QUIJOTE IN KUNSTANSCHAUUNG UND DICHTUNG DER DEUTSCHEN ROMANTIK. By Werner Brüggemann. Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1958. vi, 380 p. (Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, Reihe II, Band 7).

Schon 1914 hat J. J. A. Bertrand in seinem grundlegenden Werk *Cervantes et le romantisme allemand* das Material zu einer geistesgeschichtlichen Darstellung der kulturpolitischen und literarischen Symbolkraft des Cervantesbildes in Deutschland geliefert: das vorliegende Buch kann sich in vieler Hinsicht auf dieses wichtige Werk stützen, führt aber das Thema auf breiterem europäischen Hintergrund und mit vertieftem Verständnis für die neueren Deutungsversuche der romantischen Situation durch.

In einer weitgreifenden Einleitung untersucht der Vf. zunächst den Wandel des frühen Cervantesbildes in Spanien, Frankreich und England und führt zusammenfassend auf die künstlerischen und volkskundlichen Wirkungen Cervantes' im deutschen 18. Jahrhundert hin. Wenn der *Don Quixote* auf der einen Seite als Romantypus und als mythisches Bild und Vorbild begriffen wird, so stützt er auf der anderen die Bemühungen (etwa Herders) um ein Verständnis Spaniens als eines für die Kulturgeschichte wie das kulturphilosophische Verständnis entscheidenden Raumes. Zum ästhetischen und volkhaften kommt schon früh das religiöse Moment: die Romanzen, der Roman des Cervantes und die Dramen Calderons bieten den Zugang zu diesen drei Sphären. Ehe der Vf. diese Tendenzen im engeren Bereich der deutschen Romantik verfolgt, bietet er eine literarhistorisch ausgezeichnet fundierte und kritisch umsichtige Deutung der cervantinischen Dichtung als Kunstmythologie, untersucht die wesentlichen Darstellungsmittel des *DQ* und bestimmt den allegorischen Charakter des Romans. Es wird hier alles in allem mit vertrauten Kategorien operiert: die antithetischen und paradoxen Grundverhältnisse, die sich in ironischem Witz und einer reizenden Symmetrie von Widersprüchen äußern, kann der Vf. mit den Formeln der romantischen Kritik belegen; seine Betonung gerade des allegorischen Grundzuges des Romans folgt ausdrücklich der einigermaßen lockeren Definition dieses Begriffes bei Solger. "Allegorisch," heißt es, "ist nach Auffassung der Romantik nicht nur die Personifikation, sondern ganz allgemein jede Darstellung, in der keine Identität des Endlichen und Unendlichen, sondern die bedeutungsvolle Beziehung des einen zum anderen herrscht" (p. 84). Der Vf. weist gegenüber dieser romantischen Begriffsförmel des allegorischen Kunst-Mythos auf die Gefahren einer moderneren "Symbol"-deutung hin, die, wie er meint, gelegentlich eine "Verhärtung und Verengung" des Verständnisses der Figuren des *Don Quixote* zur Folge gehabt hat. Die beiden Hauptgestalten werden dann zum "Symbol" des Idealisten oder Realisten; Casildea oder Dulcinea erscheinen als bloße "Pseudosymbole" des Fanatismus oder des

Lichtes. Gegen diese historisch belastete Verwendung der Begriffe Allegorie und Symbol ließe sich manches einwenden: immerhin liegt dem Vf. vor allem daran, einen freien Blick auf die umfassende Gleichnisfunktion Don Quixotes zu gewinnen: die Gestalt wird dem "abendländische Gestaltengeviert" Faust, Hamlet, Don Quixote und Don Juan zugeordnet, denen gegenüber aber die Figur des Don Q nicht auf das Abgründige, Böse und Vernichtende bezogen wird, sondern "in ihren Umformungen immer reiner hervortritt und dem Lichten, dem Guten und Erhaltenden zugeordnet und Figur des Glaubens, Nachbar der Heiligen, Ritter und Bewahrer der ewigen, unverlierbaren Werte wird" (p. 126).

Das zentrale Kapitel (pp. 128-226) ist zugleich das an historischer Kenntnis und Einsicht reichste: es untersucht das Verhältnis der Kunstform des *Don Quixote* zur romantischen Dichtung überhaupt und bestimmt den Ort der cervantinischen Dichtung innerhalb der progressiven und ironischen Universalpoesie. Ausgehend von der noch durchaus aufklärerischen Übernahme cervantesscher Motive und Impulse durch Wieland, führt der Vf. an einer Reihe von eingehenden Deutungsversuchen die Varianten der ironischen Erzählweise an *Wilhelm Meister*, *Lovell*, und *Sternbald* vor: weder hier noch bei den Gegenüberstellungen Cervantes-Wetzel, Cervantes-Kleist und Cervantes-Hoffmann geht die Untersuchung freilich wesentlich über die vertrauten kritischen Begriffe von Roman und Novelle hinaus. Wichtig ist der nachdrückliche Hinweis auf die Bedeutung von Cervantes für Novalis, dessen magische Weltsicht in Don Quixote das Bild nicht des Wielandschen "Schwärmers" sondern des Trägers höherer und geheimnisvoller Mächte sieht, "die Figur des hohen Wahnes." Im Vorgang dieser geistigen Überhöhung wird andererseits die gegenständliche Substanz sowohl Don Quixotes als auch Sancho Panzas aus ihrer im Volkstümlich-Sinnlichen begründeten Wirklichkeit gelöst. E. T. A. Hoffmanns Werk steht Cervantes nicht nur durch die außerordentliche Beweglichkeit der formalen Kunstmittel, sondern auch durch deren metaphysischen Hintergrund am nächsten, und zwar zu einer Zeit in der F. Schlegel in den "Wiener Vorlesungen" zugunsten Calderons von *Don Quixote* als einem Urbild romantischen Dichtens abgerückt war. Die ästhetische Einheit des Romans zerfällt bei Fouqué, in Schleiermachers "Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik" (1819) und bei Grillparzer in einen Novellenkranz; bei Heine erscheint Don Quixote noch einmal als Verkörperung des hohen Wahns, jetzt allerdings gebrochen durch das Bewußtsein einer nihilistischen Spannung von Illusionswille und intellektueller Skepsis.

Die formale Wirkung von Cervantes tritt bei den späteren Romantikern gegenüber einer Verklärung der Spanischen Welt im Ganzen zurück, einer Bildungsvorstellung die schon bei Herder der klassisch-aufklärerischen Vernunftlandschaft entgegengestellt und in zeitgenössischen Reiseberichten (W. v. Humboldt, 1799) anschaulich bestätigt wird. Für Brentano und Eichendorff ist Spanien das Land der schönen Fremde und Sinnbild unverlorener mittelalterlicher Lebensformen. Dazu kommt bei Eichendorff in der Gestalt Friedrichs in *Ahnung und Gegenwart* die Vorstellung von Don Quixote als der Figur deren "absolute Existenz in der veränderten modernen Welt nur noch unter der Verkleidung und Maske der Narrheit und Torheit möglich" ist. Neben diese zwiespältige Figur tritt die Gräfin Juanna, eine mythische Vision und ein dämonisches Sinnbild der verführerischen aber sich versagenden Ferne.

In den weiteren Kreis der zeitgenössischen Kunst fügt der Vf. auch Jean Paul, dessen *Komet* hier in ausgezeichnete Deutung als die von Cervantes in höchst subtiler Weise bestimmte Parodie auf den klassischen Bildungsroman an

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das Ende der historischen Situation der Romantik gestellt wird. Mit einem skizzenhaften Ausblick auf die französischen und vor allem spanischen Cervantes-Interpretationen des späteren 19. Jahrhunderts und zwei nicht uninteressanten aber peripheren Exkursen über die *Celestina*, und die Aufnahme des spanischen Schrifttums im Barock schließt dieses anregende Werk. Es bietet, im Ganzen gesehen, die kenntnisreichste Darstellung eines in seiner historischen Struktur bisher noch nicht so klar beschriebenen Phänomens. Der Vf. beherrscht weit über die hispanische Literatur hinaus die Zeugnisse und Perspektiven der europäischen Kritik, er liefert zuverlässige Einzelinterpretationen, schreibt lebendig und zitiert geschickt.

V. L.

CRITICISM AND FICTION AND OTHER ESSAYS. By W. D. Howells. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Clara Marburg Kirk and Rudolf Kirk. New York: New York University Press, 1959. xix, 413 p.

This anthology reflects a recent revival of interest in Howells, which began in 1950 with Everett Carter's *Howells and the Age of Realism*. Since then we have had E. H. Cady's definitive two-volume biography of the mild dean of American letters, and more recently two studies of his artistic development—one by Fryckstedt, a European who focuses his attention on the earlier parts of Howells' career and particularly on the impact of his four years in Venice, the other by Bennett, whose focus is social and moral. These have been followed by Hough's monograph on Howells the social commentator and, most recently, as if to give an elder statesman's blessings to these doings, Van Wyck Brooks has published his portrait of Howells' "life and world." All this is likely to stimulate renewed appetite for Howells further down the critical line, in the schools, for instance. If so, the present volume will provide a handsome meal.

The book is a monument to Howells' role as a literary guide, mentor, and critic, a synopsis of the critical activity by which he exercised his great influence on his countrymen, stirring them up to the consideration of critical issues, molding their taste, putting them in touch with the foreign literary currents of the time (which means of the years of his long active career), and encouraging them if they happened to be struggling young writers. It begins with a reprint of *Criticism and Fiction*, the little collection of essays from *Harper's* in which editor and polemicist Howells fought his stubborn battle for a "simple, natural, and honest" realism. Part II ("European Masters"), representing Howells the comparatist, reprints essays on Dickens and Thackeray, Björnson, Turgenev, Verga, Valdés, Galdós, Ibsen, Hardy, Zola, Tolstoy; the list makes one wonder how much the literary cosmopolitanism which in our day underlies the vogue of college courses in world literature owes to Howells. Part III ("American Writers") represents Howells the mentor and friendly editor, with essays on De Forest, Mark Twain, Eggleston, James, Hay, Bellamy, Garland, Crane, Norris. And Part IV, finally, contains further essays on critical theory and some autobiographical essays touching on the sociology and economics of the man of letters.

The collection seems to represent the editors' response to a need they have felt while teaching Howells in graduate seminars, the need of an easily available text. Many of their colleagues, doubtless, have had the same problem, and will be grate-

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ful to the Professors Kirk for having made such a comprehensive selection of the critical essays available. They will be grateful too for the notes (a moderate supply) and above all for the index (of names and subjects), the latter being particularly useful for *Criticism and Fiction* proper, which has never been indexed before. But they will wish the press might have been persuaded to put this useful work in paperback and thereby within the reach of most of the students for whom it has been designed.

CHRISTOF WEGELIN

University of Oregon

COMMENTAIRES STYLISTIQUES DE TEXTES FRANÇAIS MODERNES. By Yves Le Hir.
Paris: Centre de Documentation Universitaire, 1959. 117 p.

At the very moment that the famous *explication de texte* of the Roustan and Rudler tradition is for the first time successfully imitated in a Spanish country (by Alfredo Lefebvre, *Poesía española y chilena: Análisis e interpretación de textos*, Santiago de Chile, 1958), the French philologist Yves Le Hir develops a somewhat new and modified procedure. By "stylistic commentaries" he means a fourfold program: (1) an explication makes sense only if it is stylistic (in contradistinction to the opinion expressed by Bondy in *FR*, May 1958), since all other explanations have nothing to do with an interior elucidation but simply save the reader time by helping him consult encyclopaedias, dictionaries, and grammars; (2) since an isolated selection never discloses the total essence of a work, it is better to renounce the Spitzerian concept of "Blutprobe" and the French program of induction ("one single line of V. Hugo reveals the whole poet") and to give deliberately only a partial but fertile stylistic interpretation; (3) it is meaningless to couch the stylistic interpretations in merely rhetorical trimmings which cost the printer time and the student money but do not add to the understanding of the text; (4) the stylistic commentary must be linked to and distinguished from the linguistic, the syntactic, and the rhythmical aspects of the text.

Although the author depends largely on the pedantic programs of "auteurs" prescribed from a ministerial desk in Paris for a certain year for all *licences*, *agrégations*, *brevets*, and what not, he makes, wherever he is free, excellent choices among the single texts and adds some of his most personal likings (Sainte-Beuve's *Volupté*, Lamennais' *Paroles d'un croyant*, Mallarmé's *Brise Marine*, Corneille's *Psyché*). He furthermore attempts to proceed from a factual to an artistic approach in order to reach the "cœur même de la création littéraire" (Avant-Propos), after a survey of the "intentions stylistiques."

Excellent when he is on his own, Le Hir seems to me unduly impressed by the vocabulary studies of Matoré and the statistical mathematics of Guiraud; likewise he maintains, against the synchronic-structural approach, a stern historical position as well as the inadmissible pseudo-aesthetic *critique de fautes* of the *régent de collège*. He is also more than tempted by psychoanalytical procedures—if not Freud's then Bachelard's. He considers an author an artisan rather than an artist, speaking of his *réussites*. He relies on Pius Servien Coculescu rather than on Maurice Grammont, his *bête noire*, when it comes to questions of rhythm and metrics.

As excellent examples of French clarity I should like to recognize, among Le Hir's achievements, formulations like "l'utilisation stylistique du matériel gram-

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matal," "la qualification s'anime grâce au verbe," "les pluriels qui dématérialisent le substantif," "l'attaque brusque par des appositions de formes participiales" (a case in point here is a series of *nominativi pendentes*). Le Hir makes much of "harmonie imitative" and "métaphore articulatoire," as well as of the "raccourci d'images." He admirably characterizes the stylistic nuances of the article in certain contexts, various shades of qualification, and types of comparison (*comparaison pas authentique*: "douces comme des âmes") and epithet.

H. H.

LA POESÍA DE JUAN RAMÓN JIMÉNEZ. ENSAYO DE EXÉGESIS. Por Bernardo Gicovate. San Juan de Puerto Rico: Ediciones Asomante en colaboración con la Universidad de Tulane, 1959. 135 p.

Nos parece digno de elogio este breve libro en el que el distinguido profesor argentino—que también es poeta—ha logrado, en pocas páginas y sin excesivas declaraciones, expresar sus ideas sobre la poesía juanrramoniana. Ya, por libros anteriores, como su cuidadoso estudio sobre el simbolismo de Julio Herrera y Reissig (1957) sabíamos a Gicovate dedicado a la interpretación de una época tan importante para la poesía de habla castellana como fue el fin de siglo XIX. Con semejantes elementos de trabajo y en muchos casos con un cuidadoso cotejo de originales y variantes, nuestro joven profesor se acerca al universo que es J. R. J. para ensayar una posible interpretación de algunos de sus rasgos o aspectos más destacados.

Siempre, es verdad, nos queda por hacer el estudio completo de uno de los poetas más complicados de nuestro idioma. Muchos intentos se han hecho para explicar tal o cual aspecto de su obra. Como libro, siempre nos quedará el de don Enrique Díez Canedo, que fue un primer jalón en ese camino. Desde que los manuscritos y los papeles y ediciones originales de J. R. están en su Sala de la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, en Río Piedras, mucho y muy precioso está a la mano del estudioso. Todo ello le sirvió a Graciela Palau de Nemes para componer su exhaustiva biografía del poeta. Y recientemente, a Ricardo Gullón para sus artículos, prólogos y ediciones. A todo ello puede sumarse ahora, dignamente, el libro de Gicovate.

Gicovate comienza su ensayo (y aquí sería tal vez oportuno citar una de sus frases, según la cual "quizá un ensayo sobre la poesía de Juan Ramón Jiménez debería ser entonces sólo un comienzo, ya que su poesía es hoy... un círculo incompleto") con un primer capítulo sobre "El concepto de la poesía" en el que se detiene a analizar algunos de los caminos o trayectorias de ese concepto de lo poético según va apareciendo en la obra de J. R. Por cierto que al estudiar Gicovate uno de los poemas de *Rimas* (1902), el que comienza "En el balcón, un instante..." y al que más tarde el poeta daría el título de "Adolescencia," se refiere naturalmente a los poetas simbolistas franceses y a una técnica heredada "por los poetas hispánicos que seguían el ejemplo de Rubén Darío." Permítaseme agregar aquí que tanto lo seguían, que el aludido romance de J. R. nos ha parecido siempre como un hijo poético de alguno de los romances de Rubén, de aquellos que pertenecen a sus *Poemas de adolescencia*. El titulado "Romance," por ejemplo: "Era una tarde de enero..." o aún mejor, el tercero de los que forman el grupo de "La niña de ojos azules," que comienza "Cuando le hablé de mi amor, / inclinó la

frente tímida; / y como perlas, dos lágrimas / rodaron por sus mejillas . . .," cuyos tono, ambiente, y vocabulario mismo aparecen repetidos como en espejo fiel, en el aludido romance de J. R.

Aunque en algún momento nos parezca que Gicovate peca de ligereza, como cuando, en la pág. 23 afirma que "sería ingenuo, ha sido ingenuo, otorgar validez crítica a este poema del autor," que no es otro que el tan conocido y comentado de "Vino primero pura / vestida de inocencia . . ." cuando es precisamente uno de los que más nos sirven para acercarnos con su claridad a la difícil selva de la obra juanrramoniana; aunque sea ello así, hay por otra parte muchos aciertos en este estudio, como por ejemplo, el decir que "Lo que distingue a Juan Ramón es el haber reflexionado y ordenado y el haber poetizado la experiencia misma del poetizar," reflexión que, a su vez, nos parece muy importante para el estudio de la crítica y autocrítica del poeta de *Eternidades*. Tras ese capítulo inicial va Gicovate a presentarnos el desarrollo de esta poesía, en cinco capítulos que van desde el titulado "Años de aprendizaje" hasta "El nostálgico." Con una "Conclusión" acertada y de justa evaluación de lo que Jiménez representa en la poesía europea y universal termina el tratado que comentamos, al que su autor ha agregado dos apéndices interesantes: el primero, sobre "La obra y su corrección" en el que se apunta sólo, y muy brevemente, el grave problema de las correcciones y las variantes que tanto abundan en esta obra y que son un verdadero laberinto para su estudioso; y el segundo, relacionado con él, desde luego, "Tres versiones de un poema," en el que se estudian esas diferencias en un poema específico, en este caso la "Mañana de la cruz" de su *Segunda antología poética* de 1922, que antes había sido "Balada de la mañana de la cruz," y más tarde, en 1936, "Mañana de la luz." Este estudio puede servir como ejemplo de como un poema iba transformándose en las manos cuidadosas, aunque muchas veces impertinentes, de su autor. Tal vez el mismo Gicovate pueda continuar sus incursiones en este asunto, para lo que ha demostrado tener sensibilidad, gusto, y amor.

EUGENIO FLORIT

Barnard College

FERNANDO DE HERRERA. By Oreste Macrí. Madrid: Gredos, 1959. 562 p.

Herrera himself is no doubt chiefly to blame if one finds much of the scholarship concerning him to be rather depressing; he was such an austere self-righteous intellectual that a contemporary strongly objected to his being called "el divino," saying, "Si aún no es humano, ¿por qué le llamáis divino?" His ostentatious abstention from such staples of Spanish social life as flattery, gossip, and wine, combined with his deliberately unacknowledged debts to the "forasteros" Ausias March and Sánchez de las Brozas, makes one suspicious of the moralistic temperament of this Andalusian cleric (who held a benefice without ever being ordained priest). And one delights, with Professor Macrí, in the witty chastisement dealt him, for his pedantic criticisms of Garcilaso, by the Castilian courtier Don Juan Fernández de Velasco, a disciple of Sánchez (Macrí, pp. 75-92). Yet, despite antipathy, one cannot deny the immense learning and historical significance of this massively Petrarchan figure, sixteenth-century Spain's Bembiotic humanist par excellence.

The most belabored question in Herrera scholarship, especially since 1948, has

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been that of the texts. Herrera himself supervised a small edition of *Algunas obras* ... (abbrev. *H*) in 1582. In 1619, twenty-two years after his death, Francisco Pacheco supervised an emended and much larger edition of *Versos* ... (*P*). Finally, in 1948, Professor José Manuel Blecua edited an important manuscript collection of poems by Herrera dated 1578, in a volume entitled *Rimas inéditas* (*B*). But prejudices based on anti-culteranismo (first voiced against *P* by Quevedo) and on a perverse attempt by Adolphe Coster to make *P* represent a redaction earlier than *H* (Coster, *Fernando de Herrera*, Paris, 1908, p. 197: "[Pacheco] n'eut qu'un certain nombre de brouillons de l'écrivain, antérieurs à 1582") kept his significant new evidence from clarifying the situation for several years; not until Salvatore Battaglia made an objective study of variants in texts common to *B*, *H*, and *P* (*Filologia Romanza*, I, 1954, 51-88) was it demonstrated, by a simple stemma, that *P* as a whole represents a stage subsequent to *H*, *H* being externally dated as subsequent to *B*. Deplorable quantities of ink had meanwhile been spilt in violent scholarly skirmishes; then, with a polemical zeal reminiscent of that expended in the famous *Controversia* between Velasco and Herrera (though in that case there were forty-five points at issue and in this case, happily, only fourteen), the leader of the anti-*P* forces changed tactics and concentrated his attack upon the authenticity of that text (*Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, XXXVIII, 1958, 377-408), and Macrí counterattacked with equally uncompromising vigor (*Filologia Romanza*, VI, 1959, 1-26, 151-184).

I shall not attempt to review in detail the fourteen arguments raised by Blecua and answered by Macrí, for neither side, I think, can reasonably demand unconditional surrender. So far as is known, every poem in *P* is authentic in the sense that it was written, at least in some earlier form, by Herrera himself; no one has accused Pacheco of having written from scratch even a single sonnet. And, whether we like it or not, most of *P*'s 365 poems are known to us only according to the *P* text, so we cannot ignore it completely, however corrupted it may or may not be. The unanswerable question is to what extent Pacheco may have used his own discretion in revising Herrera's drafts; Blecua argues that Pacheco's revisions are stylistically substantial, and Macrí considers them practically nonexistent. I myself find inconclusive the arguments based on internal evidence, that is, on stylistic continuity or lack of it; the same evidence is easily used to support a circular argument in either direction. The chief external evidence, furnished by the prefatory pages of *P*, inclines me to the belief that Pacheco attempted to reconstruct, whenever he felt it necessary, a final revised text which Herrera himself had prepared after 1582 and which was lost shortly after his death in 1597. Remarks made by Francisco de Rioja, Enrique Duarte, and Francisco Pacheco himself (*P*, ff. **2v, **2r-3r, & [***5]r), when taken together, are quite coherent and can, I think, be fairly conflated and paraphrased to give the following account:

"Pocos días después de la muerte de Herrera perecieron todas sus obras poéticas que él tenía corregidas de última mano y encuadernadas para darlas a la imprenta; Pacheco recogió con particular diligencia y cuidado algunos cuadernos y borradores que escaparon y procuró restaurar la pérdida, hurtando muchas horas de su ocupación de pintor, porque no sólo copió una y dos veces de su mano lo que ahora nos ofrece, pero cumplió lo que faltaba de otros papeles sueltos que habían venido a manos de diferentes personas; y aunque todo ello sea del mismo autor, es cosa cierta que lo que él tenía escogido y perfeccionado para sacar a luz sería de mayor y de más acabada perfección. Pero, siendo Pacheco tan afectuoso imitador

de los escritos de Herrera, él ha podido publicar su poesía en la forma verdadera reconstruida por él."

Given the strength, emphasized by Blecua, of Spanish "traditionalism" with regard to poetic texts, I suggest that Pacheco was conscientiously polishing Herrera's lines as he recopied them; he was certainly as free of the modern editor's positivistic scruples as Herrera himself was when he freely introduced new and "better" readings into his erudite edition of Garcilaso. The problem still remains: To what degree did Pacheco fulfill Herrera's own intentions? Pacheco worked with autograph texts unavailable to us; his edition is our only source for the revisions which that tireless reviser Herrera most probably continued to make between 1582 and his death. And, in any case, from the viewpoint of literary history (as distinct from literary biography), does it matter very much whether we call the author of *P* "late Herrera," "Herrera-Pacheco," or some combination of the two? For *P* in itself is still an important text and must be considered as in some sense representative of its period.

Macrí's book is based on the hypothesis that the variants of *P* are authentic late Herrera; but his book would not, I think, be much less meaningful if this hypothesis could be disproved. The central section of the book, "El drama textual," is primarily a linguistic and stylistic analysis of the *P* revisions, *B* and/or *H* being taken as the point of departure. A larger context (called "diacrónico" by Macrí to distinguish it from "el interior de la sincronía estético-textual") is established by reference to Mena and Góngora; not unlike Ferruccio Blasi, who viewed Herrera as the "ponte di passaggio" between the "italianismo di Garcilaso" and the "spagnolismo di Góngora" (in *Dal classicismo di secentismo in Ispagna*, 1929), Macrí views him as standing stylistically between the Gothic pre-Renaissance of Mena and the baroque post-Renaissance of Góngora.

Macrí's mass of data on the variants is arranged according to certain semantic groups (lexicon), the parts of speech (syntax), figures of speech (lexical equivalents), word order (hyperbaton), anaphora, meter, enjambement, and rhyme. One might question at times the significance of this analysis. Macrí classifies hendecasyllabic lines, for example, as "a minore" or "a maiore" according to whether the fourth or sixth syllable is more strongly stressed; the resulting hemistichs are then classified as "aguda," "llana," and "esdrújula," with or without synalepha. Surprisingly enough, the first thirty-eight sonnets of Book III in *P*, when compared with Garcilaso's thirty-eight sonnets, show quite similar percentages of these types of hendecasyllabic line; only the "a maiore aguda con sinalefa" and the "a maiore esdrújula con sinalefa," the rarest types in *P*, are not found at all in Garcilaso's sonnets. This "drama textual" section also contains lists of Herrera's neologisms, both ideological and poetic, and a detailed description of Herrera's peculiar orthography. Though no doubt quite useful for reference, I did not find the section as a whole particularly "dramatic."

More readable are the introductory sections on Herrera's life and literary theory (the external facts of which are more fully covered by Coster and Rodríguez Marín) and the concluding sections, consisting of a critical synthesis and an anthology (the latter based on *P*, with notes that continue to emphasize the "drama textual"). Macrí finds that, in Herrera, "existe un intercambio orgánico entre eros y heroísmo, con alternancia y reciprocidad entre ambas esferas sentimentales, pero con soluciones poéticas más acertadas en el ámbito del canto amoroso, que por ello asciende a heroica sublimidad... A veces se desespera

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por la derrota, más a menudo—atraído por el polo opuesto—siente la dignidad, la potencia vital y cósmica del propio amor, y canta a Leonor con la misma vibrante emoción que pone en las canciones patrióticas... Proporcio es el único poeta de los antiguos al que pueda compararse Herrera en la identidad entre retoricismo y poesía, amor y patria, manierismo y sinceridad de vida" (pp. 45-46).

Like Édouard Bourciez (in *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*, XIII, 1891, 200-227), Valbuena Prat, and Antonio Vilanova (in *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas*, II, 1951, 687-751), who also felt that Herrera as reflected in edition *P* had been traditionally underrated, Macrí gives primary emphasis in his critical section of Herrera's love lyrics. His chief point of departure seems to be a hint taken from Francisco de Rioja: "Los Versos que hizo [Herrera] en la lengua Castellana, son cultos, llenos de luzes i colores poeticos, tienen nervios i fuerza, i esto no sin venustidad i hermosura, ni carecen de afectos, como dizē algunos, antes tienen muchos i generosos, sino que se ascóden i pierden a la vista entre los ornatos poeticos... Con esto è dicho... la causa de que los versos de Fernando de Herrera no parezcan, a los ojos de muchos, afectuosos; que es no verse los afectos tan desnudos como en Ausias Marc, i en Boscan: pero algo se deve conceder a quien ilustró tanto i engrandeciò las Musas Castellanas..." (*P*, ff. [45]v.-*[46]r). For Macrí, Herrera's love poetry is based on the allegorized voluntarism and psychological labyrinths of the fifteenth-century *cancioneros*, of Ausias March and Boscán, with a heavy overlay of Renaissance naturalism, of colors and landscapes drawn from classical sources, of new *culto* vocabulary and deliberate archaisms. Herrera is placed "entre manierismo y barroco": "Ello es que la mezcla gótico-clásica no es para Herrera una cuestión de dosificación y de gusto, como para el manierismo de Kempereer, y sí forma expresiva de una síntesis radical y existencial" (p. 408).

Despite the tremendous amount of data which Macrí has dug out of the Herrera texts, he quite modestly considers his book to consist of no more than "studies toward a monograph," and feels that a great deal more has yet to be done on Herrera before an historically and aesthetically just verdict can be passed on him. Along with the texts edited by Bleu in 1948, Macrí's volume, the first book-length study of Herrera since Coster's, should provide ample stimulus for a sustained revival of interest in Herrera. R. D. F. Pring-Mill of Oxford promises very soon a partial edition of Herrera's *Anotaciones*, with a helpful study of his literary theory and terminology. And A. David Kossoff of Brown University is now continuing in Spain his Herrera researches, which should soon yield some major results. (Macrí's otherwise ample bibliography omits these articles by Kossoff: "Una nota sobre la viola de Herrera," *RFE*, XXXIX, 1956 for 1955, 350-351; "Algunas variantes de versos de Herrera," *NRFH*, XI, 1957, 57-63; "Algo más sobre *largo-luengo* en Herrera," *RFE*, XLI, 1958 for 1957, 401-410.)

There is no denying the historical importance of Herrera. Góngora's debts to him have long been obvious. Lope wrote, "Nunca se aparta de mis ojos Fernando de Herrera, por tantas causas divino; sus sonetos y canciones son el más verdadero arte de poesía. El que quisiere saber su verdad, imítele y léale..." Quevedo refers to "el divino ingenio de Herrera... de tales ingenios aun las manchas que ellos se quitan pueden ser joyas para los que sabemos poco, y su sombra nos vale por día." Herrera was at the center of Spain's most productive group of sixteenth-century poets; in 1582, the year in which he published *Algunas obras*, Seville witnessed the publication of three comparable volumes of lyrics (by Padilla, Romero de Cepeda,

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and Juan de la Cueva), Gregorio Silvestre published a volume in Granada, and López de Ubeda another in Alcalá. When the works of such poets as these, published during the decade 1582-91, are all available in good modern editions, one can hope to achieve a more comprehensive view of "pre-baroque" poetry in Spain; and it is encouraging to note that, though perhaps technically less polished, these poets are not all so austere intellectual as the divine Herrera.

ELIAS L. RIVERS

Dartmouth College

VYBRANE. By Robert Burns. Translated into Ukrainian by Mykola Lukash and Vasyl Mysyk. Kyiv: State Literary Publishing House, 1959. 241 p.

BURNS I SHEVCHENKO. By J. B. Rudnyckyj. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1959. 30 p.

To commemorate the second centenary of Robert Burns's birthday, the Ukrainian State Literary Publishing House in Kyiv has published his selected works in Ukrainian translation. The poems of Burns are not unknown to Ukrainian readers. Probably the first to translate them into Ukrainian was Ivan Franko (1856-1916). He rendered "A Man's a Man for A' That" in his *Dumy ta pisni naysnatnishykh poetiv* (1879). Seven years later, Franko rendered five more poems and added them as illustrative material to the Ukrainian version of Karl Federn's German article (*Zhytye i slovo*, V, 1896; see Ivan Franko, *Tvory*, XV, 582). Simultaneously, Pavlo Hrabovsky (1864-1902), Ukrainian poet and revolutionary, who spent all his adult life in either a Russian prison or in Siberian exile (where he died), translated many of Burns's poems and issued them in a book in 1898.

The following thirty-five years produced no new Ukrainian translations of Burns's works. In 1933, however, Vasyl Mysyk completed his *Pisni ta poemy Roberta Bernsa*. The book was immediately published and widely recognized as the first adequate translation of the Scottish poet's works. The following year Mysyk was arrested by the Soviet police, accused of being a "Ukrainian nationalist," and deported to a concentration camp. *Pisni ta poemy Roberta Bernsa*, as well as all the original works of Mysyk, were confiscated, and his name dropped from all library catalogues and histories of Ukrainian literature. During the 1930s some two hundred Ukrainian authors disappeared into Russian prisons and concentration camps: seventeen were executed, eight committed suicide, and one hundred seventy-five vanished without a trace. But Mysyk miraculously survived. After the end of World War II he emerged in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. In 1946 he again published two or three translations of Burns's poems in the *Literaturna hazeta*, but was not allowed to take an active part in literary life. Only in 1958 did Mysyk's selected poems appear, among which are seven excellent translations of Burns's works.

Vybrane contains translations by Mykola Lukash and Vasyl Mysyk. Lukash rendered fifty-five of Burns's ballads and songs, and Mysyk twenty-four poems, thirty-seven brief epigrams, and three longer narrative poems, including "Tam o' Shanter."

Both Lukash and Mysyk are excellent translators; their renditions are so natural in the Ukrainian language that they might pass as original works. However,

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there is a notable difference in the translators' treatment of the originals. Lukash gives preference to the content of the work he translates, and does not always take care to preserve the meter. Mysyk, on the other hand, duly preserves the rhyming pattern as well as the meter of the original but makes, in some cases, minor deviations from the original meaning of the poem.

Vybrane has a biographical sketch of the Scottish poet by Mysyk, who compares the deep humanism of Burns to that of Taras Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian poet.

Though written independently, Professor J. B. Rudnyckyj's brief study serves as a valuable adjunct to the Ukrainian versions of Burns's works. Similarities between Burns and Shevchenko in their biographies and in their works are pointed out. Both poets came from peasant stock, took elementary education from village priests, wrote in folk language of their countries, and became spokesmen for their respective nations. The key thought in Professor Rudnyckyj's study is that both Burns and Shevchenko were convinced that "only national revolution will bring the expected freedom to their nations" (p. 16). The Ukrainian poet exhorted his compatriots:

"Rise and break your chains!
Water liberty with blood-drops
of the foeman slain!"

(Translated by Honoré Ewach, *Ukrainian
Songs and Lyrics*, Winnipeg, 1933, p. 66.)

This reminds us of "Scots Wha Hae." But, as W. K. Mathews states in his *Taras Shevchenko: The Man and The Symbol* (London, 1951), "Shevchenko had bigger influence" (p. 4) upon the Ukrainian liberation movement than Burns in his Scotland.

Burns i Shevchenko contributes to our understanding of these two great poets and, from the viewpoint of ideological characterization, even surpasses the well-done study, "Do charakterystyky poetychnoho stylyu Roberta Bernsa" (Characteristics of the Poetic Style of Robert Burns) by I. P. Symonenko in *Radyanske literaturoznavstvo* (Kyiv, 1958, No. 5, pp. 71-89.) Obviously, in Ukraine under the Soviet regime, I. P. Symonenko cannot go as deeply in the comparison of Shevchenko's liberation motifs with those of Burns as Professor Rudnyckyj is able to.

YAR SLAVUTYCH

University of Alberta

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